STORIES

FROM

FROISSART.

BY THE LATE

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WITH A

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

[BEING INTRODUCTORY TO THE STORY OF "THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLIS."]

After the termination of the Crusades, under St. Louis,* the progress of the Mussulman religion and power appears but very slightly upon the face of the history of Western Europe, until the victories of Mahomet II. brought the Turks to the shores of the Mediterranean, and thus placed them in contact with the interests of the European states. During this period, of about two hundred years, the reader of modern history finds in its general current scarcely any thing to draw his attention towards those parts of the world, which, during the prevalence of the holy wars, had excited so peculiar and romantic an interest.

* By alluding to the Crusades of Louis IX. as the *last*, it will be seen I have reference only to those expeditions which, in ordinary language, are designated by that name. Many armaments were subsequently so styled by the Popes;—but, in common acceptation, the Crusades are those undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

The following story is one of the few episodes which form an exception to this. It contains an account of the expedition of French nobles and knights, headed by John, Count of Nevers, (afterwards the celebrated *Jean Sans-Peur*, Duke of Burgundy,) which went, in the year 1396, to the aid of Sigismund, King of Hungary, against the famous Bajazet. The narrative is in Froissart's most picturesque and animated style; and throws a very curious light upon the nature and degree of the intercourse between the Mussulmen and Christians at that period, and on the ideas which they respectively entertained of each other.

As a fitting introduction to this subject, I purpose to prefix to it a slight notice of the character and exploits of Bajazet: and, with a view to render clear to the minds of my readers the circumstances by which the Turks had already become so obnoxious and formidable to the Christian nations on the Danube, I shall, previously, briefly trace the rise and progress of the *Ottoman* power, properly so called; which dynasty, indeed, continues to the present day, in the person of the reigning Grand Seignor.

The Turks are a nation descended from the Huns, and originally came from Great Tartary. They were anciently divided into nine classes, which, successively destroying and destroyed, never achieved a fame sufficiently great, or a power sufficiently permanent, for it to be of any interest now to individualise them, and describe their rise and downfall. The ninth class, which bore the patronymic of *Seldjucides*, was divided

into four branches, all of which acknowledged *Seljuk* for their common ancestor. These branches were called of Kerman—of Iran or Persia—of Syria—and of Iconium or Koniah. In the year 467 of the Hejira, (A.D. 1094,) Soliman, great grandson of Seljuk, entered Asia Minor, at the head of an army of Turks, and, with the assistance of some revolted subjects of the Greek emperor, after some fluctuations of fortune, made himself complete master of it. From this time, Asia Minor became known by the name of Turkey. This dynasty, known in history by the designation of *Sultans of Iconium,* continued till 693 Hej. (A.D. 1294,) when it determined in the person of Gaiatheddin-Masoud II., who was killed in a battle against one of his emirs: his empire had, previously, under his father, been reduced to a mere shadow by the power of the Moguls.

After the Seljukian Sultans had been thus totally destroyed by the Moguls, their empire became divided into numberless petty principalities,—nearly every emir and governor of a province assuming separate independence. Whilst the Moguls continued masters of the open country, they had retired to the fastnesses of the hills; but, by degrees, they began again to descend into the plains, and to increase their scanty territories. Among these, by far the most distinguished and successful was the Emir Othman, or Othoman, the great founder of the Turkish dynasty of modern history. This person, whose name has, in his descendants, made so considerable a figure in the affairs of Europe, was,

originally, only the chief of a handful of hardy mountaineers, in the Bithynian hills. He possessed somewhat more than the ordinary talents of a partisan leader, and was thrown upon times which were peculiarly fitted for the display of energy and enterprise. As the power of the Sultans of Iconium faded into nothing, the nominal dependence of their emirs declined in a similar degree; and, at last, after the death of Gaiatheddin-Masoud, Othman began, not only to make reprisals upon the Moguls on his own account, but also to reduce some of his brother emirs into subjection to himself. He first gained permanent footing in Bithynia, in the year of the Hejira 698, (A. D. 1299,) which is ordinarily considered in history as the date of the foundation of the Ottoman dynasty. After this period, he reigned twenty-seven years, during which time his incursions were repeated with greater and greater frequency, and the posts he retained became more and more numerous, till, in the last year of his life, the surrender to his son, Orchan, of Prusa, (or Bursa,) the capital of Bithynia, crowned his conquests with the acquisition of a capital worthy of his growing empire.

Othman died in the year 726 Hej. (A.D. 1326,) and his son inherited, with his power, his ardent ambition to extend it. Orchan first took the title of sultan, his father having contented himself with his original title of emir *. He established the seat of

* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, vol. I. p. 495. Knolles, in his History of the Turks, says, that from the year 1300, Othman "took

his government at Prusa, and embellished it with mosques, baths, hospitals, and also an university, to which his liberality soon attracted the most eminent professors of Oriental learning. He likewise made many municipal and sumptuary regulations, and enrolled and disciplined a regular body of infantry. He took Nice and Nicomedia, defeating the Emperor Andronicus the Younger, and established his dominion over the whole of Bithynia, as far as the Bosphorus. He subsequently pursued his conquests along the coasts of Asia Minor. He afterwards took part in the civil wars of the Eastern empire, between John Cantacuzene and the Empress Anne of Savoy and her son, John Palæologus. Cantacuzene, to ensure the alliance and aid of the Turkish prince, gave him his daughter in marriage. But Orchan made his domestic ties completely subservient to his national interests; for, in proportion as the offers of the one party or the other preponderated, he gave his assistance to the Empress or to Cantacuzene; and, by these means, each outbidding

upon him the majesty of a king;" and it is certain that some royal honours, as being publicly prayed for in the mosques, were paid to him. Gibbon, on the other hand, states that Bajazet was the first who assumed the title of Sultan: he says, that he "condescended to accept a patent of Sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt, under the yoke of the Mamelukes, a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas, and the successors of the Arabian prophet." This fact, however, is by no means irreconcileable with the assumption of the imperial title by his grandfather; and it seems to be the more prevalent opinion that both Orchan and Amurath were styled Sultan.

the other, the terms that he obtained were extraordinarily advantageous. Among other conditions, he obtained, first from the Empress Anne, and afterwards, from Cantacuzene, the privilege of selling the prisoners he made in the civil wars, in Constantinople, or of transporting them to Asia. Thus, did he cause them to be exposed in the public markets of the Imperial city, in order that their friends might ransom them; and it is recorded that the lash was freely used to rouse the compassion of their countrymen. Those whose condition did not admit of their being redeemed, were, after this ordeal, carried away into Asia as slaves.

In the renewed wars between John Palæologus and Cantacuzene, Soliman, the son of Orchan, was sent by his father, at the head of ten thousand men, to the assistance of the latter. He transported them across the Hellespont in his own vessels. They performed some service in his cause; but their rapine was more hurtful than their valour was beneficial: and, above all, they gained a footing in Europe, from which it was afterwards impossible to dislodge them. Soliman pushed his conquests into Thrace, where his arms had made great progress, when he was killed by a fall from his horse, A.H. 760, A.D. 1359. Orchan was so afflicted at the death of his gallant son, that he died of grief in the following year, in the 70th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign.

The Turks had now gained a footing in Europe; and Amurath, the younger brother of Soliman, and the companion of his victories, who now succeeded to

the throne, was not of a disposition to lose the advantages of such a circumstance. He completed the conquest of Thrace, and obtained possession of the country up to the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople itself. There is no doubt that he could have anticipated the final downfall of the Roman empire, by the taking the capital, as his descendant Mahomet did in the succeeding century. But Amurath contented himself with the possession of all real power, reducing the Greek emperor to the position of his mere tributary and dependent. He summoned frequently John Palæologus and his four sons to attend his beck and bidding; and they as often appeared humbly in obedience to the Ottoman conqueror. The European dominions of Amurath had now become so considerable, that he established Adrianople as the capital of the western part of his empire. Subsequently, he invaded the Sclavonian nations on the Danube, and first carried the Turkish arms across that river. The Servians, Bulgarians, and Albanians, distinguished for hardihood and courage, were repeatedly overcome by Amurath; and, by a measure of the wisest policy, their arms were turned against themselves. It being suggested to the sultan that, in virtue of his dignity, he was entitled to the sixth part of all the booty and prisoners taken by his army, he caused officers to be stationed at Gallipoli to levy his share, on the passage into Asia. These persons were directed to single out the finest and most athletic youths among

the Sclavonian captives, who were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained into a disciplined and well-organized body of troops. They were then blessed by a dervise celebrated for his sanctity, who, in addressing them, called them *Yengi cheri*, new soldiers, of which *Janizaries* is the Frankish corruption. Such was the origin of this celebrated body *, which has existed till our own time. These troops carried on his victories over their former countrymen, with the greatest zeal and courage. The battle of Cossova finally destroyed the power of the Sclavonian tribes, but the Turkish conqueror did not live to profit by his victory. As he was walking over the field, after the battle, a wounded Servian soldier started from a heap of dead bodies, and stabbed the sultan in the belly; he died of his wound the same day, in the 30th year of his reign, and the 71st of his age. The Turkish and Christian writers differ as to the date of his death; the former placing it in the year of the Hejira 783, which corresponds with the year of our Lord 1383—the latter in 1389. " Amurath I. (say the learned authors of L'Art de Vérifier les Dates) united opposite qualities, which are seldom found conjoined in the same person. He had prodigious strength, and violent maladies; he was equally mild and cruel; in-

* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates ascribes to Orchan the original formation of this corps from Christian captives; and says that, although it is commonly attributed to Amurath, he only perfected their organization. The above account is taken from Gibbon.

satiable of human blood, and sparing of that of his subjects; he inspired terror, yet made many friends; he grew old, but he preserved his agility to the last."

To him succeeded his son Bajazet, surnamed *Gilderun* (*Ilderim*), which means *Lightning*, from the force of his character and the rapidity of his movements. At the time of his accession, the Turkish empire consisted of the greater part of Asia Minor, and, in Europe, Thrace, almost to the walls of Constantinople, and the country thence towards Hungary.

Bajazet commenced his reign, by ordering his younger brother, Jacup, to be strangled; and he is considered to be the founder of the practice which has since obtained so generally among the Ottoman sultans, of celebrating their accession by the destruction of their brothers. Having thus established himself upon the throne without fear of a rival, he devoted his thoughts to the extension of his dominions. Indeed the principle of constant progression seems to have been almost invariably acted on by the Turkish princes. Bajazet did not confine his wars to the attack of the enemies of his faith; Mussulmen, indifferently with Christians, were despoiled by his ambition, his valour, and his strength. He completed the conquest of Servia, and treated with contempt the remonstrances of Sigismund, King of Hungary, to whom the Servians had appealed. It is said that Sigismund sent an honourable embassy to Bajazet, to request him to desist from such notorious wrong; and, as he was a just prince, to abstain from attacking Sigismund's

friends and allies, who were honest, quiet people, and to whose country Bajazet had no shadow of claim. The haughty Turk carried the ambassadors about with him, delaying to give them an answer, while he overran Servia, "doing therein what he thought fit." At length, being in a strong town that he had taken, he lined the streets with his soldiers, and calling the ambassadors to him, said that his right to that town, and the others taken by him, was manifestly good, since the very walls acknowledged it. He then dismissed them. Sigismund was sorely galled by this haughty answer; but, his own election to the crown having been disputed, and his possession of it not being yet fully confirmed, he was afraid to leave his kingdom on a foreign expedition, and was, thence, compelled to put up with the indignity. Thus early did the animosities between Bajazet and Sigismund commence.

But, while the sultan thus pursued his conquests in Europe, the King of Caramania, (descended from a rival emir to Othman, who had founded a power of almost equal extent in Asia Minor,) made inroads upon the frontiers of Bajazet. This aggression he did not immediately resent; but after reducing Philadelphia, the last town held by the Christians in Asia, and receiving the submission of several petty Turkish princes, who made themselves his tributaries in order to enjoy his protection, he poured his army into Caramania, and, after taking Cesarea, and other important places, reduced the king to make peace upon terms dictated by himself. It is not my purpose to follow

Bajazet in detail through all his Asiatic wars. Such a task would be tedious alike to the reader and to myself. Suffice it, that he stripped nearly all his Turkish neighbours of their dominions, and became master of almost the whole of Asia Minor. Nay, more; he stretched his victories eastward as far as the Euphrates; and towards the west, his power was felt as far as, if not beyond, the Danube. In Greece, in Thrace, in Macedonia, in Thessaly, he had dispossessed the Christians; Constantinople itself was closely blockaded; and its not being actually taken is more attributable to the attention of Bajazet being repeatedly called off to distant enterprises, than to any power of resistance that the emperor could have opposed to him, had he concentrated his forces and his endeavours to that purpose.

I shall, in this place, take a glance at the manners and mode of life of this formidable and singular person. During his wars in Servia, he had married the sister of Stephen, the despot of that country. This princess, being a Christian, corrupted, as it would seem, the strictness of Mussulman habits in her husband. Of all his wives, he loved her the best, and she acquired considerable ascendancy over his mind. She allured him to drink wine, and to take delight in sumptuous banquets and festivals, contrary to the practice of his predecessors. But if his own manners became more loose, he effectually prevented the existence of corruption in others. His armies were under a rule of discipline so severe, and so exactly

observed, that even when in enemies' countries, the harvests, to the very verge of the camp, were reaped by their right owners, and sold by them at an equitable price to the soldiery. In one who so little respected the greater rights of nations, and whose invasions were so fierce and unprovoked, this instance of forbearance in minor matters is a circumstance of singular curiosity.

In the internal government of his kingdom, also, he enforced justice and regularity. The following story, which is given at length in Knolles's History of the Turks, is exceedingly curious, both as showing Bajazet's sense of justice, and the cruel and violent manner in which he was about to give it practical effect. Neither are the means by which his purpose was changed, less characteristic of the caprice of an arbitrary ruler—acted upon by every gust of whim and accident, not swayed by general principles of right and virtue.

The venality of the judges throughout his dominions had arrived at an outrageous pitch. This coming to the ears of Bajazet, he caused them to be brought to his court, and all gathered into one house. To this house it was his intention to set fire, in order to consume at once all these unjust persons, who had violated and disgraced the sacred duties of their office. Just as the fatal order was about to be given, an Ethiopian buffoon, to whom the ordinary privilege of court-jesters was accorded, of saying freely that which would have cost others their head, entered the presence,

dressed in the gorgeous trappings of a Turkish ambassador. Thus bedecked, he presented himself gravely before the sultan.

"I have a request to make to your majesty," said he, "and wish to find favour in your sight. If it accord with your pleasure, I would fain go as your ambassador to the Emperor of Constantinople; and, therefore, have I attired myself conformably."

"To what purpose wouldst thou go?" said Bajazet.

"To crave of the emperor some forty or fifty grave old monks and friars, to bring with me to the court."

"And what wouldst thou do with them here?"

"I would have them placed," returned the jester, "in the room of those old doting judges, whom, as I hear, you intend to put to death."

"I can place," said Bajazet, "others of my own people in their room."

"True," said the Ethiopian, "for gravity of look and countenance; and, for that, the monks and friars would serve as well; but where would you find those as learned in the laws and customs of your realm?"

"If they be learned, why do they pervert justice, and take bribes?"

"There is good reason for that, too," quoth the jester.

"And what is that?"

"There standeth one," returned the Ethiopian, pointing to Alis Bassa, "who can tell that better than I."

Upon this, the Bassa, (who, for his life, dared not have moved first in the matter,) being called upon by Bajazet to explain the meaning of the buffoon, said, that the judges were not conveniently provided for; and that, therefore, they were forced, many times, for their maintenance, to stay the ends of justice. Bajazet, on finding this to be true, pardoned the judges, and commanded Alis Bassa to appoint proper stipends for their support. "Whereupon," says Knolles, "the Bassa set down order, that of every matter in suit exceeding one thousand aspers, the judge should have twenty aspers for judgment; and for every writing and instrument out of the court, twelve aspers; which fee they yet take in those courts at this day."*

I have already mentioned the early disagreement between Bajazet, and Sigismund, King of Hungary. Every fresh incursion of the Turks towards the frontiers of Hungary, naturally increased this animosity; and, at last, Bajazet sent him a message to the effect that he would return the next spring, conquer his country, and pass on till he came to Italy, where he would dispossess the Pope, and feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the great altar of St. Peter's. This occasioned the application to the Christian princes of Western Europe for assistance; the result of which was the expedition which forms the subject of the

* Knolles's History is said to be brought down to the year in which it was published, viz., 1610. The edition from which I quote contains the continuation by Sir Paul Rycaut to 1687; so that it seems that these regulations did in fact continue till very late times.

following story.' Given, as it there is, at so much length, I shall not further allude to it in this place. Any comments that it has seemed to me to require, the reader will find in the notes appended to it.

After the great victory of Nicopolis, Bajazet dictated the most humiliating terms of peace to the Greek Emperor. He insisted that a division of Constantinople should be set apart for the Turks to occupy—that they should erect a mosque there, and publicly exercise their religion without molestation. They were also to have a judge of their own nation, and to be governed by their own laws. Nay, further, the emperor was compelled to pay a tribute of ten thousand ducats yearly to Bajazet—to such a pitch of degradation had the remains of the Roman empire fallen!

But even these terms, severe and contemptuous as they were, did not long satisfy the restless ambition of Bajazet. The Emperor who actually reigned at this time, was Manuel Palæologus; but he had to struggle against the pretensions (which, in point of right, were superior) of his brother John, called of Selybria—who had his eyes put out in some of those hideous conflicts by which the last years of the eastern empire were disgraced. Bajazet took up the cause of this latter prince, and again sent an army against Constantinople. Manuel implored assistance from France; and Marshal Boucicault (undismayed by the disastrous issue of the Hungarian campaign, in which he had borne so considerable a part) came to the relief of the Emperor with four ships of war, containing six

hundred men-at-arms, and sixteen hundred archers. This timely succour checked, for a time, the progress of the Sultan's arms. The Turks were worsted at sea, and lost several forts on each side the Hellespont. But the Ottomans soon resumed the superiority. They were amply reinforced, while Boucicault (who seems to have held the Greeks as nothing,) finding his own troops decreased in numbers, and in a service where they received neither pay nor provisions, determined upon evacuating Constantinople. He returned accordingly to France, taking with him the Emperor Manuel, who went for the purpose of imploring succour, in person. John of Selybria was then introduced into the capital, and assumed the purple. But his throne was anything but a seat of roses. Bajazet claimed the city as his, and on the new emperor's refusal, he renewed the siege with increased vigour and severity. This time Constantinople would undoubtedly have fallen, had it not been for aid from a quarter from whence it could have been least looked for. It was a Mussulman that saved the capital of the eastern church from falling a prey to another Mussulman. John Palæologus was rescued from Bajazet by Tamerlane.

The history of this remarkable man is beside my present subject: but I must briefly trace his course to account for his appearance, at this critical time, on the scene of Turkish history. Born among the Moguls, not far from Samarcand, of a family which, through females, claimed alliance with that of Zingis,

he came into the world at a time when the divisions and anarchy which existed in his country opened a career, of which men of bold and enterprising genius know how to avail themselves so well. After a course of continued struggle with foreign enemies and domestic rivals, distinguished by extreme vicissitudes of fortune, he at last, in the thirty-fourth year of his age (A.D. 1370,) ascended the throne of Zagatai, and was invested with the imperial dignity. To Zagatai he first united Carizme and Candahar. He then over-ran and conquered Persia and Georgia. He next subjugated, in succession, Turkestan and Kipzah, or Eastern and Western Tartary. The wars which he waged in this latter country, carried him, in pursuit of his conquered enemy, into Russia ; thence he pursued his march to Azoph, which was pillaged and burned to ashes. The Moslems were stripped and dismissed ; all the Christians who had not fled to their ships were put to death *.

After this, he stretched his conquests to the east, and subjugated Hindostan. He took and pillaged Delhi, and in one year over-ran the whole course of

* A fashion has somehow strangely obtained of representing Timour as an humane and benevolent conqueror, in contradistinction to the sanguinary ferocity of Bajazet. In this respect, there was, in fact, not the least difference between them, except that as Timour had carried on his wars on a far larger field and scale, the atrocities he had *perpetrated* were, probably, the more numerous. For instance, the Tartar erected a pyramid of ninety thousand human heads upon the ruins of Bagdad ! As to their *disposition*, it would be difficult to choose between them.

the Ganges, to the extent of fifteen hundred miles from its mouth It was here that he received news, by the speedy messengers he had established throughout his vast dominions, of disturbances which had broken out on the frontiers of Georgia and Anatolia, and of the increasing power and ambition of Bajazet. He determined to return to confirm his earlier conquests. He accordingly made preparations, at Samarcand, his capital, for an expedition of seven years, in the western parts of Asia. At this time, he was sixty-three years of age; but his vigour both of body and mind was wholly unimpaired. His army rendezvoused at Ispahan; and he first directed his efforts against the revolted Christians of Georgia. These he speedily reduced to obedience, and compelled to return to the Mussulman religion, to which he had, by similar means, originally converted them. It was immediately after these successes that Timour received the first embassy from Bajazet, and this commenced a series of contumelious messages and letters, which lasted till the final conflict between them. The conquests of the Mogul and Ottoman emperors adjoined each other on the Euphrates, and the bickerings usual between rival neighbours were not wanting. The subjects of each had made incursions upon the territory of the other, and the insurrections common to newly-subjected countries, had respectively received countenance from either potentate, when directed against his rival. Tamerlane's first letter was not likely to make a friend of so haughty and successful a monarch as

Bajazet. "Dost thou not know," said he, "that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gates, and that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God, and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration which prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect, repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet!"

Bajazet was not of a nature to receive these indignities with patience. He calls Timour the thief and rebel of the desert, and attributes his boasted victories to the meanness of his enemies rather than to his own valour. "Thy armies are innumerable," says he, "be they so. But what are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scymitars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries?"

The immediate cause, or rather object of the quarrel was, the aggression of Bajazet upon the princes of Anatolia. These last appealed for protection to Ta-

merlane, and the intemperate letters which passed between them arose from these subjects. The mutual recrimination of the two conquerors increased in virulence, till, at last, Bajazet used towards Timour language of the deepest insult that one Mussulman can offer to another. " If," said he, " I fly from thy arms, may *my* wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou receive *thy* wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." The sting of this insult lies in the custom, among Mahometans, of never, even indirectly, alluding to the secrets of the harem. So to do, is an offence the most unpardonable, and in this case it was bitterly avenged. The particular meaning of the above sentence is to be found in the forms of divorce as laid down by the Koran. If a Mussulman repeat three times the words of repudiation, he cannot take his wife again till after she has married, and been divorced by, another husband.

Notwithstanding these personal additions to their political causes of quarrel, Tamerlane did not at once march against Bajazet. He first performed the campaigns of Syria—campaigns in which his military genius, his bigotted superstition, and his unsparing cruelty are equally conspicuous. The desolation of Aleppo and Damascus—the latter in particular—makes the horrors of modern wars seem tame in the comparison. But it does not come into my subject to follow the great Tartar through these remarkable

scenes. It is only his contest with Bajazet that I have to notice.

After the space of two years, Timour entered Anatolia (A.D. 1402.) The Turkish Sultan had employed this interval in collecting his forces for the great struggle which he well knew was inevitable. They amounted to about four hundred thousand men. First, there were the celebrated Janizaries, who now were raised to the number of forty thousand. There were Turkish cavalry, and twenty thousand European cuirassiers. In addition to these he had the troops of the Princes of Anatolia who had sought refuge in Tamerlane's camp. The Tartar's army, on the other hand, consisted nominally of not fewer than eight hundred thousand men, and if these were not all of them actually gathered under his banner, it is undoubted that his troops considerably outnumbered those of Bajazet. The latter marched forward to meet his antagonist, while Timour, determined upon fighting in the very midst of the Turkish kingdom, avoided his encampment, and, passing onward, laid siege to Angora. The sultan was for some time ignorant of the course of the Mogul army, but as soon as he learned it, he marched with the utmost rapidity to the relief of Angora. It was before this city that the great battle, decisive of the fate of Bajazet, was fought. Both parties were eager for action, and the two armies were not long in sight before they engaged. Timour, since his conquest of Hindostan, had adopted the use of elephants in his line of battle: but they appear to

have been more for display than actual service. His real strength still consisted in the ancient weapons of his race—missiles, namely, and the number and excellence of his cavalry. The better authorities agree that cannon was not used on either side at the battle of Angora; but Greek fire was familiar to both. The action was sanguinary and well-contested; but, in addition to the great generalship, and admirable discipline of Timour, a considerable portion of Bajazet's army failed him at his utmost need. His own immediate followers had recently been mutinous, and the troops of the Anatolian princes went over to their side during the battle. The European cuirassiers behaved with great bravery, but were broken by a feigned flight on the part of the Mogul cavalry, which drew them on in disorder, and caused their dispersion. The Janizaries fought to the last; and never were the qualities of these celebrated troops more displayed than on this unfortunate day. The unhappy Bajazet, after displaying the greatest valour and generalship, took to flight, but was overtaken, and made prisoner. The defeat of his army was total; and its consequence was, the devastation of his Asiatic kingdom. The battle of Angora, or Ancyra, was fought on the 28th July, 1402.

The treatment of the Sultan by his conqueror has been the subject of much historical dispute, but the weight of authorities very strongly inclines to the truth of the story of the Iron Cage. It is probable, indeed, that Tamerlane at first received his prisoner

with expressions of moderation and generosity, but this soon passed away, and an attempt to escape sealed the doom of the unhappy Ottoman. He was placed in an iron cage which was fixed upon a waggon, and thus was drawn about in the train of the Scythian conqueror. At the feast of victory, also, his insulting allusion to the women of Timour was cruelly avenged. The wine, during the banquet, was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan's own wives and concubines were mingled among the slaves, unveiled, and compelled to perform this menial office. There is a tradition that, to avoid the possibility of similar insults, the Turkish sultans have, since that time, except in two instances, abstained from legitimate marriage*.

The health of Bajazet had previously been considerably impaired. He fought the battle of Angora while suffering under a severe attack of the gout, in both hands and feet; and it is said that as early as immediately after the battle of Nicopolis, he was deterred by the same malady from prosecuting his conquests further westward. But now, the indignities that were heaped upon him, and the physical hardships that he underwent, entirely overbore him. He sank under his trials a few months after his capture, dying on the 9th March, 1403.

Such was the wretched end of this once powerful and haughty prince. He was, probably, the greatest

* Amurath II. with the daughter of a despot of Servia, and Mahomet II. with a princess of Turcomania.

warrior of his time, with the exception of his vanquisher. The military exploits of Tamerlane are not only on a far greater scale; but the constitution of his armies, as well in their organization as in their combinations in battle, seems, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, to have been considerably more scientific than that of the Ottoman. It is impossible, indeed, to read the campaigns of Timour without being forcibly reminded of those of the greatest conqueror of modern times, whose conquests, if they were not so extended in point of space, were far more great in the circumstances of population and civilization, which give the true importance to dominion.

Bajazet was by no means so much in advance of his age. He was a warrior, such as appears, perhaps, once in a century, instead of ranking with those of whom there are scarcely six in the annals of the world. Still his military talents were doubtless of a very high order. Not to speak of the degenerate Greeks, none of his Asiatic neighbours seem to have been able to stand before him for a moment; and his victory over the flower of the French chivalry, of which the reader is presented with an account in the following pages, was as signal and complete as that under which he himself ultimately fell.

It is not my purpose to continue this brief outline of Turkish history. Suffice it to say, that the consequences of the battle of Angora were far less permanent than their primary magnitude would lead one to

suppose. After a time, Timour drew off his armies, to undertake that invasion of China, on the eve of which he died; and, after a struggle of some years' duration between the sons of Bajazet, nearly the whole of the empire which he had possessed became re-united under the sway of his son Mahomet, first of the name. It was reserved for his great-grandson, the second Mahomet, to put the final stroke to the fall of the throne of the Constantines, and to open that career for the Ottomans in Europe, which rendered them so formidable in the earlier pages of its Modern History.

The Siege of Nicopolis.

THE

SIEGE OF NICOPOLIS.

CAP. I.

OF THE CHRISTIAN PUISSANCE THAT PASSED THE DANUBE [1].

A.D. 1396.

NOW let us a little speak of the Count of Nevers * and the lords of France, and what they did the same summer in Hungary. The Count of Nevers and his company, with many valiant men that he had of France, and of other countries, when they were come into Hungary, into a great city called Buda, the King of Hungary made them good cheer, and well they deserved it, for they were come far off to see him. The intention of the king was, that before he set forward with his puissance, and with the aid of France to enter into the field, to hear first some news from the Great Turk called Bajazet, who had sent him word in the month of February, that surely he would be in Hungary before the end of

* The Count of Nevers was the eldest son of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. He afterwards succeeded his father, and is the person so well known in history under the name of *Jean Sans-Peur*. A summary of his life will be found in the Notice of the House of Burgundy, prefixed to the Story of the Last Days of Charles the Bold. He was, at this time, two-and-twenty years of age.

the month of May, and that he would pass the water of Danube: of which message many had great marvel. And some said that there is in a manner nothing but that man may do it, considering that the Turk is valiant and puissant, and desireth much deeds of arms; therefore, since he hath said it, by all likelihood he will do it; and if he pass not the Danube to come hither to this side, then let us pass over and enter into Turkey with puissance. For the King of Hungary, with such aid as he hath of strangers, shall well make an hundred thousand men; and such a number of such men are well able to conquer all Turkey, and to enter into the empire of Persia. If we may have one journey of victory upon the great Turk, we shall do, after, what we list; and shall conquer Syria and all the holy land of Jerusalem, and shall deliver it from the hands of the sultan, and the enemies of God; for at the summer next coming, the French King, and the King of England, who will conjoin together, shall raise up a great number of men of arms and of archers, and shall find the passage open to receive them. Then nothing shall abide before us, but all shall be conquered and put in our obeissance, when we shall go all together. Thus devised the Frenchmen that were in the realm of Hungary.

When the month of May was come, trusting to hear tidings of Bajazet, the great Turk, the King of Hungary sent to the passages of the river of Danube, and sent throughout his realm to assemble his puissance together; and the lords of the Rhodes came to him strongly [2]. And all the month of May they tarried for the coming of the Saracens, but no tidings could be heard of them. Then the King of Hungary sent such as knew the country beyond the river of Danube,

to search to have some tidings of the great Turk. Such as went, searched all the country beyond the Hellespont, and the marches of Alexandria, of Damascus, and Antioch, but they could hear no news of Bajazet, nor of none army toward. Then they returned and shewed the king what they had heard and saw. Then the king assembled his council, and called the lords of France, who desired to do deeds of arms. The king shewed them how he had sent men into Turkey to have knowledge what his enemies did, and how they could hear no tidings of Bajazet, nor no likelihood of his approaching, for all the promise he had made to pass the Danube, and to enter into Hungary to fight the Christian men before mid-May should pass. Wherefore the king demanded what counsel they would give him to do. Then the lord of Coucy, for all the other, said, [3] "Sir, though Bajazet come not forward according to his promise, and maketh but a jape thereof, yet that ought not to lett us to do deeds of arms, and to pursue our enemies, seeing we be assembled to that purpose." Thus all the Frenchmen, Germans, and other strangers, shewed well how they had great desire to seek out Bajazet, to fight with him, which was to their great honour. The Lord of Coucy's words were affirmed by all the strangers: it was all their opinions how they could employ their season and time no better. Then it was ordained by the king, and by his marshals, that every man should prepare himself and be ready to set forward at a day assigned, which was the festival of St. John the Baptist. Their officers and other servants apparelled for their masters all things necessary; and the Frenchmen, thinking to be fresh and gay, spared neither gold nor silver. Their departure from Buda, the sovereign city of

Hungary, was goodly to regard. The constable of Hungary had the vanguard, with a great number of Hungarians and Germans, with him, because he knew the countries; and next after him rode the Frenchmen, with the Constable of France, the Count de la Marche, the Lord of Coucy, Sir Henry, and Sir Philip of Bar, and divers others; and, with the king, rode the great lords of his country, as reason was; and beside the king, rode John of Burgundy, and oftentimes devised with the king. They were in the field a threescore thousand horse; they had but few a-foot, saving such as were followers. The company of the Christian men were noble and well ordered; and of Hungary there were many cross-bows a-horseback. The army journeyed so long that they came to the river of Danube, and passed over in ships and barges, and such bridges as they had ordained for that purpose: it was eight days before they were all passed over; and, as they passed, they lodged them—every company tarrying for other. This river of Danube departeth the realms of Hungary and Turkey asunder.

When the Christian men were all over, and nothing tarried behind, and were in the frontiers of Turkey, they greatly rejoiced, and desired greatly to do deeds of arms. There they took counsel, and determined to go and lay siege to a town in Turkey, called Nissa; and as they ordained, so they did, and besieged it as they might well do, for it stood in a plain country, and a river joining to it, with ships thereon, called Morava, the head coming out of Turkey, and falling into the sea at the river of Danube. The river of Danube is a great river of three hundred miles in length, from the beginning till it enter into the sea, which were the most profitable river in all the world for the realm of

Hungary, if the ships that be thereon might issue out thereof into the sea, but they cannot; for in the mouth thereof, when they should issue into the sea, there is in the river a mountain which departeth the river into two parts, and maketh such bruit and noise, that it may well be heard seven mile off, and for that cause there is no ship that dare approach near to it [4]. Along by this river-side there be fair meadows and pastures, whereby all the country is well served, and divers vines, which in season make good wines, which the Turks do make and put into goat-skins, and selleth it unto Christian men; for, according to their laws, they dare drink no wine to be known; it is defended them on pain of life; but they eat the raisins, and they have other good fruits and spices, whereof they make drink, and use greatly to drink goat's milk, which refresheth them in the hot season.

Thus the King of Hungary and his host lodged before the city of Nissa, at their ease and pleasure, for no man troubled their siege. And when they came before the city they found the fruits ripe, the which was great pleasure to them. They made to this city divers assaults, and they within defended themselves, trusting daily to have aid and succour of Bajazet their lord, to raise the siege with puissance. But he did not; whereby the city was taken by force of assault, and destroyed with great slaughter of men, women, and children—for the Christian men that entered had no mercy nor pity. When this city was thus won, the King of Hungary dislodged, and went forward into Turkey, and was determined to go and lay siege to a great city called Nicopolis. And as they rode, they found, in their way, the tower of Laquaire, and laid siege to it fifteen days before it was won; but

finally, it was won by assault, and clean destroyed. And so they passed forth; and in their way they found another town and a strong castle, called Brehap, and a knight of Turkey was lord thereof, and was within the castle to defend it. The king and his army were lodged within a mile, where was a fair river, and about the town there was none: there the Count of Nevers was made knight and raised his banner; and with him were made more than three hundred knights. And all they and their companies went before Brehap, and besieged it, and won the town perforce within four days, but not the castle, it was so strong. The Lord of Brehap saved much of his people by force of the castle, who was called Corbodas, a right valiant knight, and he had other three brethren, one named Maladius, another Balachius, and the third Rufin. After this town was won, the Christian men were before the castle seven days, and made divers assaults, but they lost more than they won. The four knights, brethren, that were within, showed well by their defence that they were valiant men. When the Frenchmen had considered well the force of the castle, and the valiant ordering of the Turks within, and the defence that they made, they saw well then they lost their pain; and so dislodged; for they had knowledge how the King of Hungary would go and lay siege to the strong town of Nicopolis. Thus the siege before Brehap broke up, and they within the castle were in peace, but the town was clean burnt. Then the Count of Nevers, and all the lords of France resorted to the king's army, ordering themselves to go to Nicopolis.

When Corbodas of Brehap saw the siege broken up, he was right joyful, and said to his company, "We

need no more to fear this season, though my town be burnt and exiled. I shall right well recover it again: but of one thing I marvel greatly, and that is, that I can hear no news from my lord the king, called Lamorabaquin [5], for the last time that I saw him in the city of Nicopolis, he said unto me, that this May-time he would be in this country, and had intention to pass, with a great puissance, the Hellespont, and to go into Hungary to fight with the Christian men, and so he sent word to the king of Hungary, and yet he hath done nothing; and thereupon they of Hungary be fortified, and have, as now, great succour out of France, and have passed the river of Danube, and are entered into Turkey, and have and do destroy the country, for there is no resistance made against them, and they think surely to go and lay siege before Nicopolis; the city is strong enough to resist the siege a long season, if it be well defended and kept; we are here four brethren and knights of the lineage of King Bajazet: we ought and are bound to defend his right, therefore let us order ourselves as I shall show you; I and my brother Maladius, we shall go to the city of Nicopolis, to aid, to help, and defend it, and my brother Balachius shall abide here to keep this castle of Brehap, and my brother Rufin shall pass the Hellespont, and go seek out Bajazet and shew him every thing that is past and done, and advise him for his honour to intend to defend his heritage, and to come with such puissance that may resist the Christian men, and to break their purpose, or else he shall lose the realm of Armenia, which he hath conquered, and his own country also: for, by all imagination, the King of Hungary and the Christian men are gathered to the intent to do some great enterprise." His three

brethren agreed to his saying. On this appointment they prepared themselves to depart.

So in this season siege was laid before Nicopolis, and Corbodas of Brehap, and Maladius his brother, came and entered into Nicopolis, whereof they of the city were right joyful, and Balachius abode still at Brehap to keep the castle: and Rufin, when he saw time, by night he passed the Christian army, for he knew well the country, and passed over the Hellespont, and searched for Bajazet. And the same season he was at Cairo with the Soldan of Babylon, to have aid of men of him. Rufin found this Turk there, and when King Bajazet saw him, he had marvel, and thought surely he should hear some news out of Turkey. Then he demanded what tidings. "Sir," quoth Rufin, "all the country desireth sore to see you there, for the King of Hungary, with puissance, hath passed the river of Danube, and is entered into Turkey, and hath done great damage, and hath burnt and exiled a five or six of your closed towns; and when I departed from Brehap, he was in purpose to go and lay siege to Nicopolis. Corbodas and Maladius, my brothers, with such men of war as they have, are entered into Nicopolis to help to defend the town, and my brother Balachius is still at Brehap, to keep the castle there; and, sir, of a surety, there is in the company with the King of Hungary, the goodliest army and best appointed, come out of France, that ever was seen; wherefore, sir, it behoveth you to assemble your host and friends, and return into Turkey to cause your enemies to return again over the river of Danube; an ye do it not with great puissance, it will be hard to bring it about." "What number be they?" quoth Bajazet. "Sir," quoth he, "they be

more than a hundred thousand, and the goodliest men of the world, and best armed, and all on horseback." Bajazet gave none answer, but entered into the soldan's chamber, and showed the soldan all the whole matter, as his knight had showed him. Then the soldan said, "We must provide for it; ye shall have men enow to resist them. Needs we must defend our law and heritage." "That is true, sir," quoth Bajazet. "Now my desires are come to pass, for I have always desired none other thing, but that the King of Hungary, with his puissance, might once come over the river of Danube, and enter into Turkey. In the beginning, I will suffer a season, but at the end they shall pay for the scot; of all this I had knowledge four months past, by my great friend the Lord of Milan, who sent me goshawks, gerfalcons and falcons, to the number of twelve, which were the best and fairest that ever I saw [6]; and, with this present, he wrote to me by name, all the heads and chief captains of the barons of France, such as should come to make me war; in the which letters was also contained, that if I might get them in my danger, they should be worth to me a million of florins; and also, how there should be in their company of the limits of France, more than five hundred knights, valiant men of arms Also the Duke of Milan wrote, that surely they will give me battle: wherefore I will prepare to meet with them by art, advice, and good ordinance: for they are men of great feat, and so valiant in arms, that they will not fly nor recoil; they are worthy of thanks to issue out of their own nation by valiantness to find deeds of arms; and I trust to accomplish their desires within three months, so that they shall have enough to do."

CAP. II.

HOW THE CHRISTIANS LAID SIEGE TO NICOPOLIS.

It was not long after but that the Great Turk departed from Cairo, from the Soldan, who promised to send him shortly great aid of the best men of arms of all his signiories, to resist against the puissance of the King of Hungary and the Frenchmen, and the Great Turk sent into all realms and countries, whereas he thought to have any aid and succour; for he considered and said, that if the Frenchmen conquered Turkey, all other realms adjoining should tremble for fear of them, and thereby their faith and belief should decay, and become under the subjection of the Christian men, than which they had rather die; and thus, at the desires of the Soldan and the Great Turk, many kings, Saracens, inclined unto their desires, as in Persia and Media, and in Thrace, and also out of the north, and out of the realm of Lector, and to the bounds of Prussia. And, forasmuch as they were informed that their enemies, the Christian men, were flower of chivalry, these kings, Saracens, and other lords of their law, did choose out among them the best travailing and expert men of arms in all their countries. This assembly could not be suddenly made, nor their purveyances so soon done. The Great Turk set himself forwards into the field, always abiding for his people, that came to him from far countries, and specially out of Tartary, Media, and Persia. There assembled many valiant Saracens out of all countries;

they were desirous of proving their strengths against the Christian men.

Now let us speak of the Christian men being before Nicopolis.

They that were besieged within the strong town of Nicopolis defended themselves right valiantly; howbeit, they were sore abashed that they heard no tidings from the Great Turk. The Emperor of Constantinople had written unto them that he was in the parts of Alexandria, and was not as then passed the Hellespont; so the Christian men held their siege still before Nicopolis: they had victuals, plenty and good, cheap, that came out of Hungary and other marches near adjoining. And on a day, the Lord Coucy and other Frenchmen took pleasure to ride forth at adventure, to go see the country further in; so they departed from the siege about the number of five hundred spears and as many cross-bows and archers, all horsemen. The Lord Coucy was captain of that journey, and the Lord Raynold of Roye, and the Lord of St. Pye, in his company, and the Chatelain of Beauvoir, with divers other; and they had guides with them, such as knew the country, and they had certain foreriders well mounted, to discover the country before them. The same week there was an army of the Turks assembled together, to the number of twenty thousand men, for they were informed how the Christian men were abroad destroying their country. In resistance thereof they assembled together, and came to a strait which the Christian men must pass, an they would enter into the plain of Turkey, and they could not well enter no other way; and there the Turks tarried a two days, and could hear no tidings of the Christian men, and so the third day they thought to have returned. Then the Christian men's

foreriders came to Brechault, near where the Turks were; and when the Turks saw them approach, they stood still close together, to see the dealing of the Christian men, and made no token nor sign to skirmish with them. These Christian men approached near to the Turks, and saw well they were a great number, and yet they could not advise them all; and when they had well aviewed them, they recoiled back, and came to the Lord Coucy, and showed him what they had seen, of which news the Christian men were right joyful; and the Lord Coucy said, "It is meet that we go and see them more nearer; since we be come so far forward, we shall not depart without fighting with them; if we should, it shall be to our blame and great rebuke." "That is true," quoth all the other knights that heard him. Then every man prepared himself and his horse, and rode toward the place where the Turks were; and between them and the Turks there was a little wood: when the Christian men came to the wood side, the Lord of Coucy said to the Lord Raynold of Roye and to the Lord of Saint Pye, "Lords, mine advice is, (to the intent to draw the Turks out of their strength,) that ye two shall take one hundred of our spears, and I with the rest will abide here in the wood, and ride ye so near them that ye may cause them to come out, and then return you, and suffer them to chase you till ye be past us in this wood, and then suddenly turn upon them, and we shall close them in behind, and so we shall have them at our will. To this advice all the knights inclined. Then one hundred of them that were best horsed rode forth, and the rest, who were an eight hundred, embushed themselves covertly in the wood, and there tarried. The other rode forth, and came to the place where

the Turks were. When they saw the Christian men come, they were right joyous, weening there had been no more, and so came out of their holds into the plain fields; and when the Christian men saw time, they turned and fled, and made the Turks to chase them, and they chased so long that they passed the wood whereas the embushment was. When the Turks were passed, the Christian men issued out, and cried, "Our Lady be with the Lord of Coucy!" and so dashed in behind them, and made great occision. The Turks held them close together, when they saw how they were beset before and behind, and did put themselves to defence as well as they might, but they kept none order, for they were not ware of the rear-guard; and when they saw themselves so suddenly set on they were abashed. The Frenchmen did quit themselves like valiant men of arms, and slew the Turks at their pleasure in their flying: there were many slain, the Christian men took none to mercy; happy were they that could escape and return from thence as they came. And then the Christian men that had done the deed returned to their host before Nicopolis.

Then tidings ran over all the host, how the Lord of Coucy, by his wisdom and valiantness, had discomfited more than fifteen thousand Turks. Many spake well thereof; but the Count d'Eu praised nothing his deed, saying how it was done but by pride, and how that he had put the Christian men (and specially his band) in great adventure and peril; saying, that with a handful of men he fought foolishly with the rout of twenty thousand Turks; he should rather (seeing he was in will to do deeds of arms, and that the Turks were on the field) have given knowledge, before he assailed his enemies, to his head captain, the Lord John of Bur-

gundy, that he might have had the renown and honour of that enterprise. Besceming, the Count d'Eu spake those words by envy that he had for the Lord of Coucy; for all that voyage he had no love to him, because he saw how the Lord of Coucy had the love and favour of all his company and of other strangers, which he deserved right well to have, for he was right near of the French king's blood, and bare in his arms fleur-de-lis, and also he was constable of France [7]. Thus there engendered a great hate and evil will, covertly, between the Count d'Eu and the Lord Coucy, which hatred at last appeared clearly, whereby great mischief fell the same season upon the Christian men, as ye shall hear after.

CAP. III.

OF THE RAISING THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLIS.

Ye have heard here before how the King of Hungary, and the lords of France, were passed the river of Danube, and were entered into Turkey; and all the summer after the month of July they had done many enterprises, and had brought divers towns to their subjection, for there was none that resisted them, and had besieged the town of Nicopolis, and had near brought it to a small estate, nigh ready to yield, for they could hear no news of Bajazet. Then the King of Hungary said to the lords of France, and to other, "Sirs, thanked be God, we have had a fair season; we have destroyed part of Turkey; I reckon this town of Nicopolis ours when we list; it is so sore overlaid that it cannot long hold, wherefore, all things considered, I counsel (this town once won) that we go no further at this season; we shall draw again over the Danube into the realm of Hungary, where I have many cities, towns, and castles, ready furnished to receive you, as reason is, seeing ye be come so far to aid me to make war against the Turks, whom I have found hard and cruel enemies; and this winter we shall make new provision against the next summer, and send word to the French King what case we be in, so that this next summer he may refresh us with new men; and I believe when he knoweth what we have done, and how every thing standeth, he will have great affection to come hither, in his own person, for

he is young and courageous, and loveth deeds of arms; and whether he cometh or not, by the grace of God, this next summer we shall win the realm of Armenia, and pass the Hellespont, and so into Syria, and win the ports of Jaffa and Baruth, and conquer Jerusalem, and all the Holy Land; and if the soldan come forward, we shall fight with him, for he shall not depart without battle."

These or like words said the King of Hungary to the lords of France, and reckoned Nicopolis as their own. Howbeit, fortune fell otherwise. All that season, King Bajazet, called Lamorabaquin, had raised an army of Saracens, some out of far countries, as out of Persia; many great men of the Saracens came to aid Bajazet, to destroy Christendom; they were passed the Hellespont to the number of two hundred thousand men. To say the truth, the Christian men were not ascertained what number of men they were of. This King Bajazet and his men approached near to Nicopolis by covert ways: they knew in feats of war as much as might be; and this king was a valiant man, which showed well by reason of his policy. He ordered his battle thus:—all his host was in a manner as wings, his men comprised well a great mile of ground, and before the host, to show a face, ready in a band, an eight thousand Turks; the two wings of the battle were open a forefront and narrow behind, and Bajazet was in the heart of the battle. Thus they rode all in covert. These eight thousand Turks were ordained to make a face, and that as soon as they should see the Christian men approach, then they to recoil a little and little into the heart of the battle, and then the two wings which were open before, (the Christian men being once entered between

them,) to close together and join into one company, and then to fight with their enemies. This was the order of the battle.

Thus in the year of our Lord God, a thousand, three hundred, fourscore and sixteen, the Monday before the feast of St. Michael, about ten of the clock, as the King of Hungary sat at dinner at the siege of Nicopolis, tidings came to the host how the Turks were coming. And the scouts that came in showed how they had seen the Turks; but their report was not true, for they had not rode so forward that they had aviewed the two wings, nor the battle behind; they had seen no more but the fore-riders and vaward, for as soon as they had seen them they returned. The same season, the greatest part of the host were at dinner; then tidings was brought to the Count of Nevers, and to all other in general by their scourers, who said, "Sirs, arm you quickly, that ye be not surprised, for the Turks are coming on you." These tidings greatly rejoiced the Christian men, such as desired to do deeds of arms. Then every man rose from their dinners, and put the tables from them, and demanded for their harness and horses; and they were well chafed before with drinking of wine. Then every man drew into the field, banners and standards displayed, every man to his own banner. Then the banner of our Lady was displayed, therewith the valiant knight Sir John of Vienne, Admiral of France, and the Frenchmen, were the first that drew into the field freshly apparelled, making small account of the Turks; but they knew not that they were so great a number as they were, nor that Bajazet was there in his own person. As these lords of France went into the field, there came unto them the King of Hungary's marshal

in great haste, who was a valiant knight, called Henry of Ostenlenghall, upon a good horse, with a penon of his arms, of silver, a cross sable anchored, called, in armoury, the *cross moline.* When he came before the banner of our Lady, he stood still, and (to the most part of the barons of France) he said openly, " Sirs, I am sent hither to you from the King of Hungary, and he desireth you by me, that ye set not on your enemies until such time as ye have word again from him, for it ought to be doubted lest our scouts have not brought the certainty of the number of the Turks; but within these two hours ye shall hear other tidings, for we have sent other fore-riders forth to aview our enemies more substantially than the first did; and, sirs, ye may be sure the Turks shall not indommage us, if ye tarry till all our whole puissance be together. Sirs, this is the order that the king and his council hath ordered; I must return again to the king." When he was departed, the French lords assembled them together, to know what was best for them to do. Then it was demanded of the Lord Coucy what he thought best to be done; he answered and said, " I would counsel to obey the King of Hungary's commandment, for that order seemeth to be good." And, as it was informed me, Sir Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, and constable of France, was not contented that the advice had not first have been demanded of him; then he for pride and despite held the contrary opinion, and said, " Yes, sirs, yes, the King of Hungary would have the flower and chief honour of this journey; we have the vaward, he hath granted it to us, and now he would take it from us again: believe him who will, for I do not." And then he said to the knight who bare his banner,

"In the name of God and St. George, ye shall see me this day a good knight." When the Lord Coucy heard the Constable speak these words, he took it done of a great presumption. Then he looked on Sir John of Vienne, who bare the standard of Our Lady, and demanded of him what he thought best to be done. "Sir," quoth he, "whereas wise reason cannot be heard, then pride must reign, and since that the Count d'Eu will needs set on, we must needs follow; howbeit, we should be the stronger, an if our puissance were whole together."

Thus as they devised in the field, still the Turks approached; and the two wings, each of sixty thousand men, began to approach and to close, and had the Christian men between them; so that, if they would have recoiled, they could not, for they were closed in with the Saracens, the wings were so thick. Then divers knights, that were well expert in arms, saw well the journey should be against them; howbeit, they advanced and followed the banner of Our Lady, borne by the valiant knight Sir John of Vienne. Every knight of France was in his coat armour, so that every man seemed to be a king, they were so freshly apparelled; as it was showed me, when they began first to fight with the Turks, they were not past a seven hundred. Lo! behold the great folly and outrage! for if they had tarried for the King of Hungary, who were threescore thousand men, they had been likely to have done a great act; and by them and by their pride all was lost, and they received such damage, that, since the battle of Roncesvalles, where the twelve peers of France were slain, Christendom received not so great a damage; howbeit, before they were discomfited, a great number of Turks were slain, for the

Frenchmen discomfited the first battle of the Turks, and had them in chase till they came into a valley, where Bajazet was with his whole puissance. Then the Frenchmen would have returned to their host, but they could not, for they were closed in on all parts: there was a sore battle; the Frenchmen endured long. Then news came to the King of Hungary, how the Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Germans, were fighting with the Turks, and had broken his commandment and counsel given them by his marshal, wherewith he was sore displeased, and not without good cause. Then he saw well how he was likely to lose that journey: then he said to the great master of Rhodes, who was by him, "Sir, we shall this day lose the journey, by reason of the pride of the Frenchmen, for if they would have believed me, we had been strong enough to have fought with our enemies;" and therewith the King of Hungary looked behind him, and saw how his men fled away and were discomfited in themselves: then he saw well there was no recovery, and such as were about him cried and said, "Save yourself, for if ye be slain, all Hungary is lost; ye shall lose the field this day by reason of the pride of the Frenchmen; their valiantness turneth to foolish hardiness, for they shall be all slain or taken, none is likely to escape; therefore, Sir, if ye believe us, save yourself, and escape this danger."

The King of Hungary was sore displeased when he saw how he had lost the journey by disordering of the Frenchmen, and saw no remedy but to fly, or else be taken or slain. Great murder there was; for in flying they were chased, and so slain: they of Hungary fled without order, and the Turks chased them; howbeit, God aided the King of Hungary and the Great Master

of Rhodes, for they came to the river of Danube, and found there a little barge pertaining to the Rhodes;* they entered into it but with seven persons, and so went off the shore, or else they had been slain or taken, for the Turks came to the river side, and there slew many a Christian man, such as had followed the king to save themselves.

Now let us speak of the Frenchmen and Germans, who fought valiantly. When the Lord of Mount Caurel, a right valiant knight of Artois, saw that the discomfiture ran upon them, he had by him a son of his, a young man; then he said to a squire of his, "Take here my son, and lead him away by yonder wing which is open, and save him, and I will abide the adventure with other of my fellows." When the child heard his father say so, he said how he would not depart; but the father did so much, that perforce the squire led him away out of peril, and came to the river of Danube; but there the child had such care for his father, that he took small regard to himself, so that he fell into the river between two barges, and there was drowned, without remedy. Also Sir William de la Tremouille fought in that battle valiantly, and there was slain, and his son by him; and Sir John of Vienne, bearing the banner of Our Lady, was slain, and the banner in his hands. Thus all the lords and knights of France that were there were destroyed by the manner as ye have heard. Sir John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, was so richly beseen, and in likewise so was Sir Guy de la Rivière, and divers other lords and knights of Burgundy, that they were taken prisoners: and there were two squires of Picardy, right valiant

* i. e., to the Order of Rhodes.

men, called Guillaume Dewe, and the Bourg of Montquell: these two, by valiantness, two times passed through the field, and ever returned in again, and did marvels, but, finally, there they were slain. To say the truth, the Frenchmen and other strangers that were there, acquitted themselves valiantly; but the Frenchmen's pride lost all. There was a knight of Picardy, called Sir Jacques of Helly, who had dwelt before in Turkey, and had served Bajazet, and could somewhat speak the language of Turkey. When he saw the battle lost, he yielded himself, and the Saracens, who are covetous of gold and silver, took and saved him. Also, a squire of Tornasis, called Jacques du Fay, who had before served the King of Tartary, called Tamerlane: as soon as this Jacques knew that the Frenchmen came to war in Turkey, he took leave of the King of Tartary, and departed, and was on the said field, and taken prisoner by the King of Tartary's men, who were there in the aid of Bajazet; for King Tamerlane of Tartary had sent to him great number of men of war.

The Frenchmen were so richly arrayed that they seemed like kings, whereby they were taken and their lives saved, for Saracens and Turks are covetous; they trusted to have great ransoms of these that were taken, and reputed them greater lords than they were. Sir John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, was taken prisoner. In likewise were the Counts d'Eu and De la Marche, the Lord Coucy, Sir Henry of Bar, Sir Guy de la Tremouille, Bonciquault, and divers others: and Sir Philip of Bar, Sir John of Vienne, Sir Guy de la Tremouille, and his son, slain, and divers others. This battle endured three hours fighting; and the King of Hungary lost all his baggage, and all his

plate and jewels, and was glad to save himself, but with seven persons with him, in a little barge of the Rhodes, else he had been taken or slain without recovery. There were more men slain in the chase than in the battle, and many drowned; happy was he that might escape by any manner of means.

When this discomfiture was done and passed, and that the Turks, such as were sent thither by the Soldan, were withdrawn into their lodgings, which was into tents and pavilions that they had conquered, which they found well replenished with wine and meat ready dressed, wherewith they refreshed them, and made joy and revel, like such people as had attained victory on their enemies,—then Bajazet, with a great number of minstrels, according to the usage of their country, came to the King of Hungary's chief tent, which was goodly apparelled and hanged with rich stuff; and there he took great pleasure, and glorified in his heart of the winning of that journey, and thanked their God according to their law. Then he unarmed him, and to refresh him he sat down on a carpet of silk, and caused all his great lords to come to him to jangle, and to talk with them. He made as great mirth as might be, and said how he would shortly, with great puissance, pass into the realm of Hungary, and conquer the country, and, after, other countries upon the Christian men, and so bring them to his obeissance; for he said he was content that every man should live after their own laws; he desired nothing but the seignorie; but he said he would reign like Alexander of Macedon, who was twelve years king of all the world, of whose lineage he said he was descended. All that heard him agreed to his saying. Then he made three commandments: the first was,

that whosoever had any prisoner Christian, to bring him forth the second day after into his presence; the second was, that all the dead bodies should be visited and searched, and such as were likely to be noble men to be laid apart by themselves in their raiments till he came thither himself, for he said he would see them; the third was, to inquire justly if the King of Hungary were dead or alive. All was done as he commanded.

When Bajazet had well refreshed him, then to pass the time he went to the place where the field was, to see the dead bodies, for it was showed him that he had many of his men slain, and that the battle had cost him greatly, of the which he had great marvel, and could not believe it. Then he mounted on his horse, and a great number with him; he had with him two of his brethren called Ali Bashaw and Soli Bashaw, as some people said, but he would not be known of them, for he said he had no brethren; when he came to the place where the battle was, he found it of truth that there were many dead and slain. He saw that for one Christian man dead, he found thirty Turks slain, wherewith he was marvellously displeased, and openly said, here hath been a cruel battle and marvellously defended of the Christian men, but I shall make them that be alive to buy it dearly. Then the king went to his lodging, and so passed that night in great furor of heart; and in the morning before he was up, much people came to his tent to know what they should do with the Christian prisoners; the renown ran that they should all be put to death without mercy. Bajazet (for all his displeasure) ordained that such Christian men as were in the battle in great array, and likely to be great men, should be all set together in one part, for it was showed him that they

might well pay great ransoms. Also there were divers Saracens and Pagans of Persia, of Tartary, of Arabia, and Syrians, that had many prisoners, by whom they thought to have great advantage, as they had indeed; they hid them out of the way, so that they came not to knowledge. Among other, Sir Jacques of Helly was brought before Bajazet: he that had him durst not hide him no longer; Sir Jacques of Helly was beknown with some of the king's servants, who took him from them that had him, which was happy for him, as ye shall hear after, for many Christian men were afterwards cruelly slain and put to death.

King Bajazet had commanded to inquire which were the greatest of the Christian men, and that they should be set aside, to the intent to save their lives; so they were tried out and set apart: first, the Lord John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, who was chief above all other, and then Sir Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, the Count de la Marche, the Lord Coucy, Sir Henry of Bar, Sir Guy de la Tremouille, and other, to the number of eight persons. And Bajazet went to see and to speak with them, and beheld them a long season, and he conjured these lords by their faith and law, to say the truth, if they were the same persons that they named themselves for; and they said yea; and yet to know the more certainly, he sent to them the French knight, Sir Jacques of Helly, to know them, for he had served Bajazet before, therefore he had his life granted him. He was demanded if he knew the French knights prisoners. He answered and said, "I think if I see them I shall know them." Then he was commanded to go and aview them, and to show plainly their names. He did as he was commanded; and when he came to them, he showed

them his adventure, and how he was sent thither to know surely their names. Then they said, "Ay, Sir Jacques, ye know us all, and ye see well how fortune is against us, and how we be in danger of this king; therefore, to save our lives, make us rather greater than we be indeed; and show the king that we be such men, able to pay great ransoms." "Sirs," quoth he, "so shall I do, for I am bound thereto." Then this knight returned to Bajazet, and to his council, and said how those knights which he had spoken with were of the greatest men in all France, and were of the king's lineage, and were able to pay great ransoms. Then Bajazet said how their lives should be saved, and all other prisoners to be slain and hewn all to pieces, in example of all other. Then the king showed himself before all the people that were there assembled, to whom they all made low reverence; they made a lane for him to pass through, every man with his sword naked in his hand, and so came thither where the said lords of France stood together: then the king would see the correction of the other, which thing the Saracens were desirous to do.

Then they were all brought before Bajazet, naked in their shirts, and he beheld them a little and turned from them-ward, and made a sign that they should be all slain, and so they were brought through the Saracens that had ready naked swords in their hands, and so slain and hewn all to pieces without mercy. This cruel justice did Bajazet that day, by the which more than three hundred gentlemen of divers nations were tormented and slain, for the love of God, on whose souls Jesus have mercy! Among other was slain, Sir Henry Dautoigne, of Hainault. And, so it was, the Lord Bouciquault, marshal of France, was one of

them that was brought naked before the king, and had been slain with others, an the Count of Nevers had not espied him. As soon as he saw him he went straight to the king, and kneeled down, and desired him effectuously to respite from the death that knight Sir Bouciquault, saying how he was a great man in France, and able to pay a great ransom. Bajazet condescended to the request of the Count of Nevers, and so Sir Bouciquault was set among them that should be saved. Thus cruel justice was done that day among the Christian men. And because that Bajazet would that his victory should be known in France, he appointed out three of the French knights to come before him, whereof Sir Jacques of Helly was one. Then the king demanded of the Count of Nevers, which of the three knights he would choose to send into France to the king, and to the Duke of Burgundy, his father. Then the Count of Nevers said, "Sir, an it please you, I would that this knight, Sir Jacques of Helly, should go thither from you and from us." So Sir Jacques tarried with Bajazet, and the other two knights were delivered to death, and so slain, which was pity. Then Bajazet was well appeased of his furor, and understood how the King of Hungary was scaped away alive. Then he determined to return into Turkey to a city called Bursa, and so he did, and thither all the prisoners were brought, and then his army departed, and specially such as were of far countries, as Tartary, Persia, Media, Syria, Alexandria, and of Lecto. Then Sir Jacques Helly was delivered to return into France, and he was commanded to return through Lombardy, and to recommend Bajazet to the Duke of Milan; and also he was straightly commanded that in every place as he passed,

to manifest and publish the victory that Bajazet had upon the Christian men. The Count of Nevers wrote to the French king for himself, and all his company; and to his father the Duke of Burgundy, and to the duchess his mother. When this knight had his charge, as well by writing as by credence, he departed and took his way towards France: before he departed, he was sworn and promised, as soon as he had done his message in France, incontinent to return again thither, which oath and promise he accomplished like a true knight.

CAP. IV.

OF THE POVERTY AND MISERY THAT THE CHRISTIAN KNIGHTS OF FRANCE AND OTHER NATIONS ENDURED, IN THE COMING HOME TO THEIR COUNTRIES.

After this great discomfiture that the Turks had upon the Christian men, such knights as could save themselves did. The same Monday there was a three hundred knights and squires that were gone a foraging, and were not at the battle, for when they knew (by them that fled) that the battle was done, they had no desire to return again to their lodgings, but fled as well as they might, and took divers ways to fly from the Turks. There fled both Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Scots, Flemings, and of other nations, and they came into a country joining to Hungary called Wallachia. It was a country replenished with divers people: they were conquered upon the Turks, and turned perforce to the Christian faith. The keepers of the ports, towns, and castles suffered these Christian men to enter and to lodge, but the next morning, at their departure, they took from these knights and squires all that they had, and gave them poor coats, and a little silver to pass therewith one day's journey: this grace they showed to the gentlemen; and as for other yeomen and varlets, they were spoiled all naked, and sore beaten and evil entreated, without pity. So they passed through the country of Wallachia in great poverty, and through Hungary: they could scant get bread for God's sake, nor lodging at night. They en-

dured this danger in passage till they came to Vienna in Austria; there they were received more sweetly, and refreshed and new clad, and so through the realm of Bohemia, for if they had found the Germans so hard, they had never turned again, but rather died for cold and hunger. Every man that heard them tell of that adventure had pity on them. So finally they came into France to Paris, and there showed their adventures. At the beginning they could not be believed: some in Paris said, It is pity these unthrifts be unhanged or drowned, for telling of such lies; howbeit, these tidings daily multiplied with resorting of new men. When the French king understood that these news daily renewed, they were nothing pleasant to him, for it was a great damage of the loss of the noble men of his blood, and of other good knights and squires of the realm of France. Then he commanded no man to be so hardy to speak any more of that matter till he were better informed of the certainty: and commanded that all such as were come out of Hungary should be taken and put in prison till the truth were known; so that there were many put into prison; and the king had ordained, that if the news were not true, that they should be all drowned and put to death.

So it was on Christmas day, Sir Jacques of Helly, about the hour of noon, entered into Paris; and so took his lodging and demanded where the king was; and it was showed him that he was at St. Paul's on the river of Seine: then he went thither. There was with the king, the Duke of Orleans his brother, the Duke of Berry, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Count of St. Poule, and divers other noble men of the realm of France, as the usage was

for such noblemen to be with the king at such high feasts. So Sir Jacques of Helly entered into the court booted and spurred; as then, he was not beknown, for he had of long time haunted far countries: he did so much that he came to the king's chamber, and said, how he came from Bajazet, out of Turkey, and had been at the battle before Nicopolis, where the Christian men had lost the journey; and said he had letters from the Count of Nevers, and from other Lords of France, such as were prisoners. Then he was brought to the king: he kneeled down and wisely declared his message, as well from Bajazet, as from the Count of Nevers, and other lords of France, prisoners in Turkey. The king gave him audience, and he was sweetly examined of the whole matter; and to every thing he answered so discreetly, that the king was well content with him, and was right sorrowful for the damage that the King of Hungary and they had sustained. Howbeit, they were glad that the King of Hungary was scaped without death or prisonment; for they said he should recover right well again the loss and damage that he had received at that time. Also they were right joyful that the Count of Nevers, and the other lords, were escaped the death, and were but as prisoners; and they said there was no doubt but they should be ransomed and delivered: for Sir Jacques of Helly said, there was no doubt but that Bajazet would within the year put them to ransom, for he loved gold and riches; and that, Sir Jacques said, he knew well, because he had long been conversant in Turkey, and served Bajazet's father more than three years. Thus, the king right well received this knight, and so did all other lords, such as were there: and every man said he was happy in this world to be in

such a battle, and to have the acquaintance of such a heathen king as Bajazet was, saying it was an honour for him and for all his lineage [9]. Then the king commanded all such as were in prison to be delivered, whereof they were glad.

Thus these news that Sir Jacques of Helly had brought, spread anon abroad in France, and in other places. Many were right sorrowful for the loss of their fathers, brethren, husbands, and children, and not without good cause, and specially the great ladies of France, as the Duchess of Burgundy for her son, the Count of Nevers; and her daughter, Margaret of Hainault, was sorry for the count her husband: in likewise was dolorous Mary of Berri, Countess d'Eu, for her husband, Lord Philip of Artois, Constable of France; and in likewise so was the Countess of Marche, the lady of Coucy, and her daughter of Bar, the lady of Sully, and many other ladies, as well of France as of other places. And when they had wept enough, then they recomforted themselves, in that they were not slain but prisoners; but such as knew their husbands, fathers, brethren, children, and friends, dead, their lamentations endured long in France. The Duke of Burgundy made much of this knight, Sir Jacques of Helly, who had brought him word that his son was alive, and gave him many rich gifts, and retained him as one of his knights with two hundred pounds of revenues yearly during his life. The French King and all other lords gave largely to this knight. Then he showed how he must needs return again to Bajazet, for that was his promise at his departing; for he stood but as prisoner, and said how he had not returned, but to do this message from Bajazet. The king and others thought it but reasonable that he should keep his pro-

mise. Then the king and other wrote to these prisoners; and it was concluded by council that the French King should send a knight of honour to Bajazet, to the intent that he might return again to bring new tidings, in what case the prisoners were in: there was appointed to go in this voyage Sir John of Castle Morant, who was a wise knight and well languaged. Then it was demanded of Sir Jacques what jewels or presents the king might best send to Bajazet, and that should best please him, to the intent that the prisoners should be better entreated. The knight answered that Bajazet took great pleasure in cloths of Arras, made of old ancient histories; and also he said he had great delight in those white falcons called gerfalcons; also he said, that fine linen cloths, and fine scarlets, were much made of there, for of cloth of gold and silk they had plenty [10]. This pleased well the French King and the Duke of Burgundy, whose minds were set to please Bajazet. Thus a twelve days Sir Jacques of Helly tarried at Paris, and every man was glad to hear him report of the adventures of Turkey, and of the manner of Bajazet.

When he departed to return, the king said to him, Sir Jacques, take your way, and make but small journeys at your ease. I think ye will return by Lombardy and speak with the Duke of Milan, for there is great amity between him and Bajazet; but which way soever ye go, we will that Sir John of Castle Morant abide in Hungary till ye have got him a safe conduct to go to Bajazet, with such presents as we shall send him, to the intent that he should be the more favourable to the prisoners. "Sir," quoth he, "all this shall be done:" so he departed and took the same way he came. Anon, after his departure, the king and the

Duke of Burgundy did prepare for these presents, and Sir John of Castle Morant despatched and had his charge: he had with him six sumpters laden with presents, two of them with cloths of Arras, of the goodliest that could be got, wrought with the story of Alexander, of his life and conquests, right pleasant to behold; other two sumpters were charged with fine scarlets, white and red, and also with much pain the king got of these white gerfalcons. Thus Sir John of Castle Morant departed from Paris with his presents and charge, a fifteen days after that Sir Jacques of Helly was departed.

In this mean season, the King of Hungary returned into his country, whereof all his people were right joyful; for they loved him, and so came and comforted him, and said, "Sir, though ye have had damage at this time, another time ye shall right well recover it." Thus the king bare his damage as well as he might. On the other part, Bajazet returned into his country, and came to a town called Bursa, and thither were all the prisoners brought, and there set under sure keeping; they were nothing there at their ease, the heat of the country and diet sore changed them, for they had been used before to sweet and delicate meats and drinks, and had their own cooks and officers that did prepare their meats according to their diets: and there, in Turkey, they were served all contrary, with gross meats, flesh evil sodden and dressed: they had spices enough, and bread made of milk, clean from the nature of France; they had wine, and that was with great danger. Though they were all great lords, they were but smally regarded there: the Turks had as lief they had been sick as whole, and dead as alive; they would they had been all put to execution. So these prisoners

comforted each other within themselves, for they saw none other remedy. So some of them their nature changed and fell into sickness: he that made the best cheer and countenance was the Count of Nevers, and that he did to comfort his companions: also Sir Bouciquault, and the Count de la Marche and Sir Henry of Bar, were of good comfort, and took everything patiently, saying, that the honours in arms, nor the glory of this world, could not be had without pain, and sometimes with meeting of hard adventures: for they said that there was never so valiant and happy that had always every thing as they wished; they said they were bound to thank God that he had saved their lives, considering the displeasure that Bajazet and his council were in, for the loss of their men, for it was once determined that we should all generally have been put to death. Then Bouciquaut said, "I ought, above all other, to thank God of my life, for I was at the point to have been hewn all to pieces, as other of my company were; but at the request of my Lord here, the Count of Nevers, I was saved: this adventure call I good, and since God hath delivered us from this peril, he will, an it please him, deliver us from a greater, for we be his soldiers, and for his sake we have this pain: for by reason that Sir Jacques of Helly is gone into France, I trust within a year we shall have good comfort, and be delivered; the matter cannot abide thus; the French King and the Duke of Burgundy will not forget us, but by some means we shall be ransomed and delivered.

Thus Sir Bouciquault recomforted himself and took everything in good patience; but the Lord Coucy could take no comfort, which was marvel; for before that time he was a lord of great wisdom and of great com-

fort, and never was abashed; but being thus in prison in Bursa, in Turkey, he was more discomforted than any other, and in more melancholy, and said, he was sure he should never return into France: Sir Henry of Bar comforted him as much as he might, and blamed him of his discomfort, saying, how he ought to give comfort to all other; howbeit, the same Sir Henry was sore abashed in himself, and oftentimes remembered his wife, and would weep piteously: and in likewise so did Sir Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, and Constable of France; Sir Guy de la Tremouille was of good comfort, and so was the Count de la Marche. Bajazet was content sometimes that they should have some pastime, and sometimes he would go himself and see them, and jangle and bourde with them right graciously, and would that they should see part of his estate and puissance.

Now let us leave somewhat to speak of them, and speak of Sir Jacques of Helly, and Sir John of Castle Morant, who were both riding towards Hungary.

Sir Jacques of Helly tarried in the city of Buda, in Hungary, about a ten or twelve days, abiding for Sir John of Castle Morant: and when he was come, Sir Jacques was joyful, for he was desirous to pass forth into Turkey, to acquit him of his faith and promise, and to see the Count of Nevers, and the lords of France, and to comfort them. When the King of Hungary saw Sir John of Castle Morant, he made him good cheer for the love of the French King, and he understood that the French King had sent by him great presents and jewels to Bajazet, wherewith he was sore displeased in his mind, but he dissimuled the matter and kept it covert, till Sir Jacques Helly was departed into Turkey-ward. But he said to such of

his privy council as he discovered the matter unto, how that the miscreant dog, his adversary Bajazet, should have no presents out of France, nor from no place else, if it lay in his power to lett it. Sir Jacques of Helly was departed, and promised to get of Bajazet a safe-conduct for Sir John Morant to pass into Turkey and repass: so long he travelled with guides, that he came into Turkey to the city of Bursa, but as then Bajazet was in another city called Poly; and, wheresoever he went, the prisoners were carried with him, except the lord Coucy, who tarried still at Bursa, for he could not endure to ride, he was so sick; and with him tarried a cousin of his of Greece, a right valiant baron, descended of the lineage of the Duke of Austria, who was called Mathelyn. When Sir Jacques was come to Poly, Bajazet was glad to see him, because he was come out of France; then Sir Jacques right humbly said to him: "Right dear and redoubted Sir, behold here your prisoner; to the best of my power I have done your message that ye gave me in charge to do." Then Bajazet said, "Thou art welcome, thou hast truly acquitted thyself, and therefore I acquit thee of thy ransom and prison, so that thou mayest go, return, and tarry at thy pleasure:" whereof Sir Jacques right humbly thanked him. Then he showed him how the French King and the Duke of Burgundy had sent a knight of honour in embassade to him with credence, and had brought with him certain presents of pleasure from the French King. Bajazet demanded what they were, and if he had seen them or not. The knight answered, "Sir, I have not seen them, but the knight that had the charge to do the message is at Buda in Hungary; and, Sir, I am come before to show you thereof, and to have a safe conduct for the said knight

to come and to return safely." Then Bajazet said, "we will that he have one, as thou wilt devise;" whereof the knight thanked him. So they departed as at that time. Another time Sir Jacques spake with Bajazet, and kneeled down before him, and humbly required that he might see the lords and knights of France, for he had divers things to say to them out of their country. Bajazet studied a little before he answered, and at last said, Thou shalt speak with one of them, but with no more: and so sent for the Count of Nevers alone, and when he was come, Sir Helly kneeled down to him. The count was glad to see him, and demanded how the French King, and the Duke his father, and the Duchess his mother did. The knight showed him all that he knew, and all that he was charged to say to him: howbeit, they had not so good leisure to talk together as they would have had, for Bajazet's men that were there present bade them have done, for they said they had other things to do than to stand there and wait upon them. Then Sir Jacques demanded of the count how all the other lords of France did. The count said they were all in good case except the lord of Coucy, who was somewhat diseased, and was at the city of Bursa. Then Sir Jacques showed him how Sir John of Castle Morant was come out of France from the king, and from the Duke of Burgundy, in embassade to Bajazet, "and to assuage his ire he hath sent him rich jewels and presents, but he is at Buda, in Hungary, with the king there, and I come before for a safe-conduct for him to come and go, the which Bajazet hath granted, and I think I shall return to him shortly." Hereof the count was right joyous, but he durst make no semblance, for fear of the Turks, but said, "Sir Jacques, I understand by you

that ye are quit of your ransom, and prison, and that ye may return when it pleaseth you into France; when ye come there, I pray you show the king and my father, that we all desire them to treat as shortly as may be for our deliverance, by some merchants, Genoese, or Venetians, and agree at the first word to that Bajazet shall desire for our ransom: for if they should make long treaty with him, we shall be lost for ever, for I understand Bajazet is true of his word, courteous and short in all his matters, so he be taken at the point.

Thus the Count of Nevers and Sir Jacques departed. When the safe-conduct was ready, it was delivered to Sir Jacques. Then he took his leave of Bajazet, and of other of his court of his acquaintance, and rode so long by his journeys that he arrived at Buda, in Hungary: then he drew to Sir John Morant, who thought long for him. Then Sir Jacques said, " Sir, I have brought you a safe-conduct to go into Turkey, and all your company, and to return again at your pleasure." " I am glad thereof," quoth the knight: " let us go to the King of Hungary and show him thereof, and then to-morrow betimes let us depart, for I have tarried here long enough." Then they both together went to the king into his chamber, and showed him all the matter. The king then answered and said, " Sir John Morant, and ye, Helly, ye be welcome; ye shall go at your pleasure, for the love of my cousins of France, to whom I would be glad to do pleasure, and to you also; ye may go and come through my realm at your pleasure, and also into Turkey if you please: but as for your presents that you, Sir John, have brought out of France, I will not agree that ye shall convey them to that hell-hound Bajazet; he shall never

be enriched therewith; it should turn to our great shame and rebuke, if he should make his avaunt that, because he hath had victory on us, and hath in danger and prison certain lords of France, that for fear thereof there should be sent to him rich presents. As for the gerfalcons I care not for, for fowls fly lightly out of one country into another, they are soon given and soon lost: but as for rich hangings of Arras, they are things to be seen and to indure for ever: wherefore Sir John Morant, if ye will pass into Turkey with your gerfalcons, go when it please you, but as for any other thing ye shall have none with you." Then the knight answered and said, "Certainly, Sir, it should not be to mine honour, nor pleasant to the French King, nor to the lords that have sent me hither, without I might accomplish my voyage as I have in charge." "Well," quoth the king, "ye shall have none other way of me this time." So the king went from them, and left the two knights speaking together: they were sore troubled with the abusion on the King of Hungary. Then they counselled together, what was best for them to do: then they determined to send hasty messengers to the French King, and to the Duke of Burgundy, since they saw they could have none other remedy. They wrote letters to the king and to the Duke of Burgundy, that they should provide for the matter: they sent their letters by post to make the more haste, [11] and tarried still themselves at Buda, with the King of Hungary, abiding the return of their messenger.

This messenger sped so well, and made such diligence, that he came to Paris, and there found the king and the Duke of Burgundy, and there showed his letters, and they were read at length, with the which they were nothing pleased, and had marvel that the

King of Hungary would not suffer their presents to pass through his country into Turkey. The Duke of Berri excused the King of Hungary, and said, how he had good cause to do as he did, for it is a thing too humbly done for the king to send such presents to a heathen king: the Duke of Burgundy, because the matter touched him, he was of a contrary opinion, and said it was a thing reasonable so to do, since that fortune had been so favourable to him to have the victory in such a battle, and hath had the King of Hungary in chase, and hath taken prisoners all such noble men as were against him in that journey, wherefore the friends of those prisoners may well find the means how to comfort them for their deliverance. This duke's words were upholden with the king, and with divers of his council. Then the king demanded of his uncle of Berri, saying, " Fair Uncle, if Bajazet, the Soldan, or any other heathen king, send you a ruby or a rich jewel, whether will ye receive it or not?" " Sir," quoth he, " I would take advice." Then the king said, " It passeth not ten year since the Soldan sent you a ruby which cost twenty thousand francs [12]." The King of Hungary's deed was not sustained, but it was said he had evil done, to stop the going of these presents, and that it should rather hinder the prisoners than advance them. Then the king was counselled to write to the King of Hungary amiable letters, desiring him not to stop his knight, but suffer him to pass into Turkey with his presents and message. Then letters were written, sealed and delivered again to the same messenger, and so he departed to return into Hungary.

CAP. V.

HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND THE DUCHESS HIS WIFE, TOOK GREAT DILIGENCE TO FIND THE MEANS TO REDEEM OUT OF PRISON THE COUNT OF NEVERS, THEIR SON, AND THE OTHER PRISONERS BEING IN TURKEY.

The Duke of Burgundy and the duchess studied all the ways they could devise, by what manner or treaty they might get their son out of prison. They knew well before they could have him they should be fain to pay for him a great ransom. They minished their household and kept a mean estate, and gathered as much gold and silver as they could, for without that they could not bring about their purpose; and they got them acquaintance with merchants, Venetians, and Genoese, and such other, for they thought that by their means they should the rather come to their purpose. The Duke of Burgundy lay still at Paris with the king, his nephew, and had the chief governance of the realm, whereby his business had the better effect. The same season, there was at Paris a merchant of Turkey, who had all the doing for all the other Lombards; he was known and spoken of throughout all the world. His name was called Dyne of Respond, and by him all exchanges were made; he was in good favour with the king and other lords, before this journey in Turkey, but then after the battle he was much more made of. Oftentimes the Duke of Burgundy demanded of him counsel how he might enter into treaty with Bajazet, for the redemption of his son and of the other prisoners in Turkey. "Sir," quoth this mer-

chant, "little and little, some means will be found; Sir, the merchants of Genoa, and of other isles, are known over all, and occupieth the trade of merchandise in Cairo, in Alexandria, in Damascus, in Damietta, in Turkey, and out in far countries heathen, for as ye know well merchandise flieth over all the world: Sir, let the king and you write amiably to them, and promise them great benefits and profits, if they would do for you; there is nothing but is overcome by gold and silver; and also, Sir, the King of Cyprus, who hath had war with the King Bajazet, he may right well aid you: Sir, as for me, ye may be sure I will do what I can, for I am bound thereto."

It is not to be marvelled though the Duke of Burgundy and the duchess sought out ways how they might recover again their son, for he was their heir, therefore it touched them right near. The ladies of France took great sorrow for their husbands and lovers, specially the lady of Coucy could not forget her husband; she wept piteously night and day, and could take no comfort. The Duke of Lorraine and Sir Henry, her two brethren, came to Saint Gobin to see and recomfort her, as much as they might, and they said they would send into Turkey to know how he did, for they said they understood how he had a more gentil prison than any of his fellows had. The lady Coucy thanked greatly her two brethren for their counsel and great comfort; then she desired Sir Robert Den, a valiant knight of Cambresis, to take the pains to go into Hungary, and into Turkey, to see what condition her husband the lord of Coucy was in. The knight said, for her sake, he was content to go thither and to bring the certainty of his estate. Thus he made him ready, and five persons with him. Other ladies in France

sent in likewise to know what case their husbands were in.

Ye have heard here before how the King of Hungary would in no wise consent that Sir Morant should pass into Turkey with the French King's presents, and in this opinion the king long continued, which was right displeasant to Sir Morant, and to Sir Helly, but they could not amend it. And so it happened that the great master of Rhodes came into Hungary to the city of Buda, to whom the king made good cheer, whereto he was bound, for the day of the battle the king had been slain or taken, an he had not been. And there he found these two knights of France; they came to him and showed him how the king would not suffer them to pass into Turkey, with such presents as the French King had sent to Bajazet, whereof he had marvel, and said, how he would speak to the king therein, and that they should well know. And so he did; and showed to the king such reasons that he turned the king's opinion, and so then they had leave to pass into Turkey, with all their presents. And so they passed forth under sure safe-conduct, and came to Bajazet, who received them and their gifts right honourably, after their usage, and made great joy of the presents. The knights, for all that, spake but once all only with the Count of Nevers at good leisure; and at their departing the count said to them,—"Sirs, I require you recommend me to my lord my father, and to my lady my mother, and to my lord of Berri, and specially to the king, and salute from me all my other friends, and desire them that if Bajazet will set us to ransom, that by means of merchants or otherwise, our ransoms may be quickly paid, and we delivered; for by long tarrying we shall lose, for in the beginning we were but

eight prisoners, and now we be sixteen, which is in all twenty-four *, and we shall not be delivered without we be delivered all at once, and as soon all as one, for Bajazet hath so promised, and surely he will not be found false of his word." Sir Morant and Sir Helly answered, and said how his commandment should be done, to the which they were bound. So they departed and returned into Hungary, and by the way they encountered the messenger that was sent into France to the king, bringing again letters from the French King to the King of Hungary. Then this messenger returned again with them, for he had no more to do when he saw them return and had done their voyage into Turkey, and so returned altogether into France.

* *i. e.* that sixteen have been *added* to the original eight, making in all twenty-four.—Ed.

CAP. VI.

OF THE TREATIES FOR RANSOMING THE CHRISTIAN LORDS OUT OF TURKEY.

WHEN these knights were returned into France, they were welcome to the king and to the Duke of Burgundy, and to the duchess, because they brought certain tidings from the Count of Nevers, and from the lords that were there with him. They said to the king how they trusted that Bajazet would gladly treat for their ransoms; and that they said they knew by some that were of his privy council, for they fear lest they should die in prison, because they be out of their own natural air, and the Turks think that, by their deliverance, they should have great finance for their ransom. By reason of these words, the king, the Duke of Burgundy, and the duchess his wife, studied night and day how and by what means they might have their son and heir delivered; and said oftentimes that the journey and siege before Nicopolis had cost them over much, for thereby they had dead three brethren, bastard knights, valiant men, whom they entirely loved. The first, the Hasell of Flanders; the second, Sir Louis of Briese; and the third, Sir John of Ipres. There was another, the youngest, who was still at home. To say the truth, the Duchess of Burgundy, Countess of Flanders, studied on her side how to deliver her son, and so much they studied, that at last they found the means to agree with the Turks with much pain; but that was not suddenly done, for the matter was such that it required great leisure, and to be got little and little.

In this same season, in the city of Bursa, in Turkey, died the gentle knight, Francis Anguerant, lord of Coucy, Count of Soissons; he was a great lord of France. As Sir Robert of Deane (who was sent by the lady of Coucy) was going to him-ward, he heard by the way how he was dead; and that he heard at Vienna, in Austria: and so he returned into France, and showed this to certain of the lord of Coucy's lineage, but not to the good lady his wife, until such time as the chatellain of St. Gobin was sent to fetch his dead body embalmed into France, to be buried in the abbey of Nogent, beside Coucy; and there he was received by the Duchess of Bar, and the Bishop of Laon, and by divers other abbots; and there this gentle knight was buried, in the year of grace a thousand three hundred fourscore and seventeen.

Ye may well know that the French King and the Duke of Burgundy always imagined how to get their friends out of prison in Turkey. Sir Dyne of Respond was always in their counsels, and he said ever that the merchants, Venetians and Genoese, might well help and aid in that business; for, he said, merchants might go whither they list, and by them might well be known the dealing of the Turks and Tartars with the ports and passages of the kings, Soldans and miscreants; and specially they resorted to Cairo, to Alexandria, to Damascus, to Antioch, and into the great puissant cities of the Saracens; daily they pass and repass, and daily merchants christened hath intercourse with the Saracens, and exchange one with another their merchandise. So the French King and the Duke of Burgundy sought all the friends and means they could get to further them; and, as then, had no desire to make war upon the Duke of Milan, because they un-

derstood that he was great with Bajazet. On the other side, King James of Cyprus thought well he should have great thank from the French King, and of the Duke of Burgundy, if he might assuage the furcr of Bajazet, and bring him to some good reasonable point for the redeeming of the lords of France, such as he had in prison. And to please them, the King of Cyprus caused a ship to be made of fine gold, right noble and rich, of the value well to the sum of ten thousand ducats, which ship he sent to Bajazet by his own knights: this ship was so goodly and fair, that it was great joy to behold it, the which gift the Soldan took in glee, and sent again to the King of Cyprus the double in value thereof. All this was anon known in France by merchants that wrote thereof to Dyne of Respond, to the intent that he should show it to the French King, and to the Duke of Burgundy, to have a thank of the king.

This King of Cyprus had good cause thus to do, for he was in doubt of the French King's displeasure, because he caused to be slain and murdered, by night, his brother, the valiant King Peter, who did much trouble to the Saracens, and took Saptalye and Alexandria. The Saracens doubted him more than any other king or emperor christened, because of his valiantness, of the which deed this said King James sore repented himself, and knew well he had done evil; and after the same deed he fled out of Cyprus, or else the Christian men would have slain him. So he entered into a galley of Genoa, being at the port of Nicosia, and so went to Genoa, and the Genoese received him: and some said that he did that foul murder by the enticement of the Genoese, for anon after the Genoese came with puissance of men of war

and gallies, and took the city of Famagusta and the port, and kept it with puissance.

This King of Cyprus had a fair young son. The Cyprians crowned this child King, and after his crowning he lived not long, but died soon after; and after his death the Genoese with great puissance brought this James into Cyprus, and crowned him King, and so he reigned King of Cyprus; and the Genoese always sustained him against all men; but they would never render up the city of Famagusta nor the port, but held it still at the time that the author wrote this history; and to say the truth, if the Genoese had not had it, the Turks had won it long before and all the realm of Cyprus, and had brought it into their obeissance, and by all likelihood had subdued the Isles of Rhodes, and all other Isles inclosed in the sea to Venice. But always the Genoese and Venetians resisted them; and when they saw the Turks had won the realm of Armenia, then they took the strong town of Courch in Armenia, on the sea-side, and so held it, so that an it had not been for doubt of the passage and straits of Courch and of Pera before Constantinople, the Turks had sore entered into Christendom, and upon the border of the sea, the which should have been great prejudice to the Isle of Rhodes and to the isles adjoining. Thus by these means the frontiers of Christendom were kept and defended.

Now let us return to our purpose.

This King James of Cyprus, who knew himself guilty of the death of the king his brother, whereby he had the hatred of all other Christian kings, therefore he did as much as he could do to get again their love and favour, and took it for a great honour that the French King wrote first to him, for he doubted him

most of all, and so he had cause; for the Duke of Bourbon, by right succession of the lineage of Lusignan, ought to be King there and his heirs, for though this King James was brother to the King Peter of Cyprus, yet he had no right to the crown, for he was but a bastard: and all this knew right well the Genoese, so that when he was made king, there was made a great alliance between them, confirmed not to be broken, and the Genoese to defend and keep him and his heirs against all other: And thereby they obtained great signories and franchises in the realm of Cyprus; and all that ever they did to the exalting of this James, King of Cyprus, was always for their own chief advantage, and to be strong against the Venetians, and haunt and exercise their feat of merchandise into the Saracen lands. This King James as long as he lived did what he could to please the French King, by the means of the Genoese, for they would in no wise displease him; and therefore the same season this King James ordained this ship of gold to present to Bajazet, to have love and acquaintance with him; which gift was joyfully received and much praised with the Turks; and it was thought the Lord Dyne of Respond was means thereof, and wrote therein to the Genoese, for in this manner and otherwise he laboured all that he might for the deliverance of the Count of Nevers, and of the other lords of France.

When the Duke of Burgundy and the duchess his wife saw that Bajazet began to fall to treaty for the Christian prisoners, the news thereof was greatly to their pleasure; and they appointed a sage valiant knight of the county of Flanders, called Sir Gilbert of Linrenghen, who was sovereign of Flanders under the duke and duchess; and then they sent for Sir Jacques

of Helly, because he knew the ways and passages, and desired him to accompany Sir Gilbert to treat with Bajazet for the deliverance of the Christian prisoners, and promised him that his pain should be well considered and rewarded. Sir Jacques promised them so to do: so these two knights departed, and rode so long that they came into the realm of Hungary, and so drew to the king, for they had letters to him. The king received them joyously for the love of the French King, and also he knew well Sir Jacques of Helly: there they showed the king the cause of their coming out of France, and how they were sent into Turkey to treat for the deliverance of the Count of Nevers, and the other lords of France, if Bajazet would give them the hearing. The king said it was well done to redeem them if they might be put to ransom, and said, in the assaying thereof they could lose nothing; besides that the king offered them his body and goods to aid them in all manners; whereof these two knights thanked him. To enter into this treaty with Bajazet, before they could come thereto, these knights had much pain and made great diligence, for first Sir Jacques of Helly was fain to go to Bajazet to require a safe-conduct for his companion, Sir Gilbert, to come into Turkey; and when he had attained it, then he returned into Hungary, and so they rode then into Turkey. The Sovereign of Flanders was received of Bajazet and of his men right nobly, and was heard speak, and so, little and little, they entered into their treaty.

The same time there haunted into Turkey a merchant Genoese of the Isle of Scio, under the obeissance of the Genoese. This merchant was named Bartlemy Pelegrino, and he was well beloved in Turkey, and

namely with Bajazet. Sir Dyne of Respond being at Paris, to the intent that this treaty might have the better expedition, he wrote letters to this said merchant of the Isle of Scio, for they knew each other: and to the intent to please the French King, the Duke of Burgundy and the duchess, and other ladies in France, such as had their husbands and friends in prison in Turkey, and in trust to be well rewarded for his good will, he wrote, that whatsoever end was made for their redemption, that he would become debtor for the sum of money; and that as soon as they were delivered and come into the power of the Venetians, and that he might be certified thereof, that incontinent he would come himself to Venice, and see the ransoms paid and delivered. By these words (written by Sir Dyne of Respond) the said merchant Genoese inclined to his desire, and on the trust to be well rewarded of the French King, for he thought to such a king it was good to lay ear, and also, as I was informed, the King of Cyprus, at the desire of the French King and the Duke of Burgundy, he sent men of his special council into Turkey; and in likewise Sir Mathelyn, and the lord of Damin, two great barons in Greece, and in good favour with Bajazet, travailed greatly to advance this treaty, to the intent to do pleasure to the French King. And without such means the matter would never have been brought about, because Turkey is a great country, and evil for men to travel in that hath not been accustomed thereto. When Bajazet was once condescended to enter into this treaty, then it was ordained by his council that all the Christian prisoners should be brought together into the city of Bursa, and there to conclude their treaty: so the prisoners were brought thither, who were in number a

twenty-five; but in their coming thither, the Turks that brought did evil entreat them, and beat them forward, for they were but evilly horsed, so they could not go but a pace; the Turks' beat them because they saw they should be delivered, wherewith they were sore displeased.

When the knights were thus brought into the city of Bursa in Turkey, then they that were sent thither from the French King and from the Duke of Burgundy, from the King of Cyprus, and from the Genoese and Venetians, received these prisoners genteelly, so that they were more at their ease than in the prison that they were in before; howbeit, they were kept ever so strait, that they could not have the third part of their wills. Bajazet most specially heard ever the Sovereign of Flanders, for Sir Jacques of Helly had informed him how he was one of the chief of counsel with the Duke of Burgundy. Bajazet was in a castle beside Bursa, and thither came the said messengers. At last it was agreed that these twenty-five prisoners should pay the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, for the which sum the lords of Mathelyn and Damin in Greece, and the merchant Genoese of Scio, became debtors for the same, and tarried in pledge with Bajazet: and the Count of Nevers sware and bound himself to the said merchants, that as soon as he came to Venice, not to depart thence till the money were paid. Thus concluded this treaty; but before it was all concluded the Count d'Eu was so sick and feeble by the alteration of the air and coarse meats, that he died at Haut Loge in Greece, where he was kept prisoner, whereof all his company were right sorry, but they could not amend it. Thus Sir Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, and Constable of France,

after he was dead was embalmed, and so brought into France, and buried in the church of St. Lawrence, of Eu.

When Bajazet was contented with the merchant's bonds for the debt of the said sum, the Sovereign of Flanders and Sir Jacques of Helly took their leave to return into France, and Bajazet was well content therewith, and ordained that these two knights should have of the sum that he should receive twenty thousand ducats, to be rebated of the whole sum; for this King Bajazet considered the pain and travel that they had endured, and specially the Sovereign of Flanders was greatly in his favour. These two knights thanked the king of his gift: then they took their leave, and afterwards of the French knights, and lords. When they were departed from the king they came to the city of Bursa, and then departed, and left the Count of Nevers and the lords of France still in the city of Bursa, for they tarried for the lords of Mathelyn and Damin, who should come thither by sea to receive them into their gallies: and these two knights took a galley passenger to sail to Mathelyn; at their departure from the port the weather was fair and temperate, but when they were abroad in the sea the wind changed, and had a marvellous great tempest, so that the Sovereign of Flanders, by reason of sore travail in that tempest, he fell sore sick on the sea, and died before they came to Mathelyn, whereof Sir Jacques of Helly was right sorry, but there was no remedy: and so sailed forth in a galley of Venice, and passed by Rhodes, and always as he went he published the redemption of the lords of France, whereof they of Rhodes were right joyful. At last, this knight came into France, and showed the king and other lords and ladies how he had sped, whereof the king and

other were right joyful, and thanked the knight of his travail and pain he had taken in that journey.

When the redemption of these lords and knights of France was at a point, Bajazet thought before they departed to have them in his company, and that they should be more at large and better entreated than they were before, as it was reason, since they were no longer prisoners. He thought they should see part of his puissance and state, which was, as it was showed me, marvellous great, and sumptuous, and kept much people daily about him. Thus he sent off the noblemen of his house to bring them to his presence, to whom he made good cheer, and had every thing delivered them of the ordinary of his court, according to the usage of the country; and every day the king talked to the Count of Nevers, and greatly he honoured the Count of Nevers, for he saw well he was like to be a great man in France, and son to a great lord, whereof he was well informed, the which he found true, by reason of the great suit that was made for their redemption, and by the great sum of money that they agreed to pay. The Count of Nevers and his company had great marvel of the great state that he kept: he and his people lay ever in the field, for no town could suffice them. The expense of his household and charge of meat and drink was marvel to consider from whence it should come, but that the country is so hot that the people be of sober diet, and use much spicery and specially sugar and goat's milk, whereof they have great abundance, the which is common drink of the Saracens: and they have plenty of bread, made of a grain called mille. He had ever about him a seven thousand falconers, and as many hunters. So it was on a day he went a hawking, and

had a flight with a falcon at an eagle, in the presence of the Count of Nevers, the which flight pleased not Bajazet, wherewith he was sore displeased, and as it was showed me, for the same fault, there was at the point a two thousand falconers to have lost their heads, bearing them in hand that they were not diligent in keeping of his hawks. Another time, in the presence of the Count of Nevers, a woman came to complain to the king, desiring to have right and justice upon a servant of his, saying, "Sir King, I come to you as to my sovereign; I complain me of a servant of your chamber, as it is showed me: he is come this same day into my house, and the milk of a goat that I had for me and my children he hath drank it, against my will; and Sir, I said to him, that if he would do me that wrong I would complain to you, and as soon as I said so, he gave me two great blows, and would not forbear for all that I spake in your name; therefore, Sir King, do me justice, as ye are sworn to do to all your people." The king marked well the woman's words, and so caused his servant to come afore him, and the woman also, and he caused the woman to renew her complaint. The servant began to excuse him, and said, that he knew nothing of that matter. The woman spake wisely and affirmed her words to be true. Then the king said, "Woman, advise thee well, for if I find thy words untrue, thou shalt die an evil death." "Sir," quoth she, "I am content; for if my words were not true, what need me to come into your presence? do me justice, I desire none other thing." "Thou shalt have justice," quoth the king, "for I have sworn so to do to every man and woman." Then the king caused the man to be taken, and caused his belly to be opened, to see if he had

eaten or drunken the milk or not, and there he found that he had drunk the milk, for it was not turned to digestion: and when the king saw the woman's words were true, he said to her, "Thou hadst good cause to complain; go thy way quiet, thou art well revenged of the trespass that was done to thee;" and she had a good recompense, and the man dead. This judgment the lords of France saw and heard [13].

CAP. VII.

HOW THE LORDS OF FRANCE RETURNED BY SEA TO VENICE, AND OF THE ISLES THEY FOUND BY THE WAY.

When the Count of Nevers, and the other lords of France, who had been taken prisoners at the battle before Nicopolis in Turkey, when they had seen a season the state and manner of Bajazet, and that he was content with every thing, and understood that the lord of Mathelyn and the lord of Damin, and the merchant of Scio were come to Bursa in Turkey, then he gave them leave to depart: so they came all together before Bajazet, except the Count d'Eu and the lord of Coucy, who were both dead: thus they took their leave, and thanked him of his courtesies. Then Bajazet said to the count, "John, I know well thou art a great lord in thy country, and son to a great lord; thou art young, and peradventure shalt bear some blame and shame that this adventure hath fallen to thee in thy first chivalry; and to excuse thyself of this blame and to recover thine honour, peradventure thou wilt assemble a puissance of men and come and make war against me: if I were in doubt or fear thereof, before thou departed I should cause thee swear by thy law and faith, that never thou nor none of thy company should bear armour or make war against me; but I will neither make thee nor none of thy company to make any such oath or promise, but I will that when thou art returned and at thy pleasure, raise what puissance thou wilt, and spare not, but come against me; thou shalt find me always ready to receive thee and

thy company in the field in plain battle; and this that I say, show it to whom thou list, for I am able to do deeds of arms, and ever ready to conquer further into Christendom." These high words the Count of Nevers understood well, and so did his company; they thought on it after as long as they lived. Then they took their leave, and they were conducted with a great number under the leading of Ali Bashaw and Soli Bashaw, and so delivered to the lords of Mathelyn and Damin, who were cause of their deliverance; and when their galleys were ready they entered, and their conductor returned to their king. So they sailed till they came to the port of Mathelyn, where they were received with great joy.

The lady of Mathelyn was right honourable and gentle, and as well assured of herself as any lady in Greece, for in her youth she had been brought up in the Emperor of Constantinople's court with the lady Mary of Bourbon, where she had learned much nurture: for in France the lords and ladies be more honourable than in many other countries. This lady was right joyous to see in her house the Count of Nevers and Sir Henry of Bar, Sir Guy de la Tremouille, and the others; she received them right honourably with great joy, and did what she could to do them pleasure: first, she newly apparelled all the lords and knights of France with shirts, gowns, and other apparel of fine damask, according to the usage of Greece, and all other, every man after his degree. The lady spared nothing on them, wherefore they gave her great thanks and greatly praised her estate and order; in likewise they thanked and praised the lords of Mathelyn and of Damin, who made them good cheer and honourable. Anon, tidings of their deliverance was known at the

Rhodes, whereof the great master of the Rhodes and all the knights there were right joyful, and they determined to arm forth two galleys, and to send for them to come into the Isle of Rhodes, and so they did; and in one galley they set Sir Jacques of Brassemont, a Burgundian master of the Rhodes. So long they sailed and rowed, that they arrived at Mathelyn. The marshal was well received of every man and of the lady of Mathelyn. Then these lords and other refreshed them there a four days, and on the fifth day their galleys were ready: then the Count of Nevers took leave of the lady of Mathelyn, and thanked her greatly, and the lords also; and the Count of Nevers said, that he was bound for ever to owe them his good will. The lady answered wisely to them all. So they entered into the galleys in the port of Mathelyn, and had wind and weather at will, and sailed so long, that without danger or damage they came and arrived in the Isle of Rhodes, in the same place where all galleys do arrive coming from Cyprus or from Baruth, and from other parts of the sea Oriental. There were many of the knights of the Rhodes, who be or ought to be men of valiant courage, for they bear the white cross, in signifying of the Cross of Christ, who died and took pain for the redemption of all Christian people. And near hand daily these knights have skirmishes and assaults, to aid and sustain the Christian faith against the miscreants, wherefore these knights ought to be valiant men, and nourished in the war.

When the Count of Nevers and his company were come into the Isle of Rhodes, the great master and the great prior of Acquitaine who was there, received the Frenchmen honourably, and offered to lend them gold and silver to pay their small charges and costs, which

offer the Count of Nevers took for a great courtesy, and heartily thanked them, for they had great need thereof. The great prior of Acquitaine lent to the Count of Nevers a thirty thousand francs in ready money; and Sir Regynere Potte, steward with the Count of Nevers, and the lord of Rocheford of Burgundy, received the money. I think it was generally for them all, that every man should have part, but the count became debtor for the money. Thus they tarried in the Isle of Rhodes a good season, to refresh them and to set every thing in good order, for the air was more attemperate there than whereas they had been in Turkey. And as they tarried thus at Rhodes, abiding for the galleys of Venice, a sickness took Sir Guy de la Tremouille, lord of Sully, of which sickness he died there, and was buried in the church of St. John in the Rhodes, and the lords of France did his obsequy right reverently, and were right sorry of his death, but there was no remedy. The Count of Nevers knew well that the Duke of Burgundy would be sore displeased of his death, because he had always found him sage and of good counsel. At the last there arrived the galleys of Venice, whereof the Frenchmen were right joyous; then they took their leave of the lords of the Rhodes. Thus departed the Count of Nevers, Sir Henry of Bar, Bouciquault, Guillaume de la Tremouille, the lord of Rocheford, and all other.

The patrons of the galleys (to do them pleasure) were content to suffer them to refresh them in the Isles between Venice and Rhodes: first they came to Modon, a five hundred mile from the Rhodes, and there they refreshed them; it pertained to the Venetians. And from Modon they sailed with wind and weather at will, and so came to the Isle of Corfu, and

there refreshed them; and from thence to the Isle of Zante, and there tarried; and then they came to the Isle of Cephalonia, and there landed, and found a great number of ladies and damsels, who had the signiority of that isle. They received the Frenchmen with great joy, and brought them to pass the time about the isle, which is right fair and pleasant, and such as know the conditions of that isle, affirmeth that the faëry and the nymphs be much conversant there. Some of the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and of other lands, such as have arrived there, and tarried there a season to eschew the danger of the sea, have said that they have seen some of the faëry there, and have proved their words to be true. The Count of Nevers and his company were right joyous of the company of these ladies, and right joyously the ladies received them, and said how their coming thither did all the isle great honour, because they were noble knights and men of honour, for there hath not accustomed none other to be conversant among them but merchants. This isle is not all only inhabited with women, but there be men among them, but the women have the sovereignty and chief rule there. They are workwomen i silk work, and make clothes of silk so subtilely and so well that there is none like them, nor the men of the isle cannot make it, but they carry them out to sell where they think to have most profit, and the women abide still in the isle, and they honour of the men for the said cause, and they have the profit thereof. The isle is of that condition that no man dare approach it to do there any damage, for whosoever doth are perished, and that hath been seen and proved, and therefore these ladies endure ever in peace, and doubt no man: also they are marvellous sweet,

gentle, amiable, and humble, and when they will, they speak with the faëry and be in their company.

When this Count of Nevers and his company had refreshed them in this Isle of Cephalonia about a five days, then they took leave of these ladies [14], and left among these ladies part of such as they had that they might forbear, so that the ladies gave them great thanks at their departing, and so they sailed to a land called Ragusa and there they rested, and from thence to Chiarenza, a hundred miles from Venice; and while they were there, thither came a squire of Hainault of great recommendation, born in the town of Mons; he was called Brydell: he came from the Holy Sepulchre and from Cairo, and from St. Katherine's mount; and when he came to Chiarenza, the Frenchmen made him good cheer, because he was born in Hainault, and also because he had been in far countries, and they demanded of him news from those parties, and also of the state of the King of Cyprus. He answered to every thing right wisely.

When the Count of Nevers had refreshed him there a season, then he sailed forth and came to the port of Parenzo; the great galleys could go no further to come to the port of Venice; then within a certain space they took other small ships passengers, and so came to Venice [15]. And there were received with great joy, and they thanked God that they were come thither in safeguard, and out of the hands of the miscreants, for they were once in fear never to have come out of their hands. Then every man went to his lodging which was prepared for them, for their coming thither was known before; their servants were come thither and prepared for them ready against their coming. The Count of Nevers found there ready part of his

servants sent thither by the Duke of Burgundy his father, and the duchess his mother. Also there was ready Sir Dyne of Respond, because of their ransom. Then clerks were set to write letters, and messengers were sent forth to give knowledge to their friends of their coming. These news was anon known over all; the Duke of Burgundy and the duchess ordained for the state of their son, as vessel, and plate of silver and gold, apparel and stuff of household; all this was sent to Venice on sumpters, and the lord of Angiers, and Sir Jacques of Helly, did convey all this stuff, and so came to Venice; and all the other lords' and knights, friends, did send thither in like manner; and ye may believe well that this was not done without great cost and charge, for Venice is one of the dearest towns in the world for strangers to be in. Thus these lords kept their estates there, and the Count of Nevers was more charged than any other, as it was reason, for he was the chief there. The Duke of Burgundy and the duchess set all their intents for the deliverance of their son, for they desired greatly to see him, and so did many other, and the duke said that without aid of his men and good friends that were in his lands, as well in Burgundy, as in Artois, and in Flanders, he could not tell how to attain to the sum of money that Bajazet should have for his son's ransom, and to bear the costs that daily grew by that occasion: for though their ransoms drew but to two hundred thousand florins, all things considered, their other charges drew to as much, as they said that had the receipts and deliverance thereof. The duke took counsel where this money should be raised, for the duke could not break nor minish his estate, nor it was not his mind to do. Then it was determined that the rich men in all his

good towns should be taxed, and specially they of Flanders, because they were rich, by reason of their merchandise. This taxation was set forward, and when they of Gaunt were called courteously to the matter, they answered and said that they would gladly help to aid their intention with the sum of fifty thousand florins. In likewise they of Bruges and of other good towns in Flanders were ready to aid their lord; the duke and duchess thanked them courteously; in likewise so did they of Artois and of Burgundy. Also the French King aided well for his part; and also it had cost him great riches in sending of presents and knights into Hungary and Turkey; howbeit, he was well content therewith, since his cousins and his knight Bouciquault were come to Venice in surety.

The Count of Nevers lay thus still at Venice, for his intent was not to depart thence till every thing was paid and discharged: for the furnishing this finance Sir Dyne of Respond took great pain, to the intent to please the French King and the Duke of Burgundy; in such business he was subtle and wise. Thus these French lords and knights sported them each with other. The same season there fell in Venice a great mortality, and it began in the month of August, and dured without ceasing till St. Andrew's tide, wherein died much people: and there died Sir Henry of Bar, eldest son to the Duke of Bar, and heriter (by his wife) of all the lord of Coucy's lands, except the lady's dowry. Thus in the same season, both the ladies of Coucy were widows, and their husbands dead, the which was great damage. His body was embalmed and carried into France, and buried in Paris, as I believe, and there his obsequy was done solemnly. To fly and eschew from this death at Venice, the Count of Nevers

went and tarried at Treviso, with all his estate, and there tarried a four months with all his company.

Ye have heard here before how the lord Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, and constable of France, died in the city of Bursa, in Turkey, of whose death all his friends were sorry, and specially the French King, for he loved him entirely; his office was such that it might not long be vacant, whereupon all the lords of France assembled together to take advice who should be made constable. The most part of the council agreed on the valiant knight Sir Louis of Sanxere, who had been long marshal of France, and was the same time; he was in the parties of Languedoc, and so was sent for, and incontinent he came to Paris, and there was made constable. Then was void the office of the marshal: then the king said, none should have that office, but all only his knight Sir Bouciquault; every man agreed thereto, for he was well worthy. When he was chosen he was at Venice, but shortly after he came to Paris; for, the ransoms once paid, all the lords and knights of France returned home. So Sir Bouciquault was marshal of France. The Count of Nevers drew to the Duke of Burgundy his father, and to the duchess his mother; he had great cheer made him of them and of other, as it was reason, for he came from a long voyage and a perilous; he was well received in all his father's countries, as in Flanders, in Artois, in Burgundy, and in all other places pertaining to his father's and to his inheritance.

END OF THE STORY OF THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLIS.

NOTES

TO

THE SIEGE OF NICOPOLIS.

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[1] "*Of the Christian Puissance that passed the Danube.*
p. 31.

Of the three powers engaged in this war, only one was in the right, and that one is by much the least conspicuous: I allude to Sigismund, King of Hungary. He was invaded in his own dominions. The invader, Bajazet, had manifestly no sort of justification,—but few people, whether Mussulmen or Christians, cared much for that, in those days, when the matter in hand was the wholesale cutting of throats. The "Christian puissance that crossed the Danube" likewise had no right—for, though the wrong they went to resist was great, yet it was one with which they had nothing to do, and therefore which could not justify them in shedding torrents of human blood, and creating a vast mass of human misery. I entirely agree with the answer of the Duke Albert of Bavaria to the Count of Ostrevant, his son, who earnestly pressed to be allowed to go upon this crusade,—as it was termed, being against the infidels,—with his brother-in-law, the Count of Nevers*: "William," said he, "what haste or will have you to go in this voy-

* He was doubly his brother-in-law,—the Dukes of Bavaria and Burgundy having married respectively a son to a daughter and a daughter to a son.

age into Hungary, and into Turkey, to seek arms upon people and country that never did us any forfeit? thou hast no title of reason to go, but for the vain glory of the world." If it ended here, the speech would be admirable, not that anything really evil follows, but a motive becomes apparent for the expression of a philosophy so uncongenial with that of the fourteenth century. He goes on to say, that it is much better to let John of Burgundy, and their cousins of France, go by themselves, and go and reduce the Grisons, who rebelliously held their country from the Duke their lord.

The Duke of Burgundy, however, and the French king cared little that Lamorabaquin, as Bajazet was strangely called, had "never done them any forfeit." They strove to raise as formidable an armament as possible, and the duke consented that his eldest son, John, Count of Nevers, should head the enterprise. The count had not yet become a knight, and there could not be a more splendid occasion of assuming the honours of knighthood than the heading a great expedition against the infidels. But alas! the grandeur and magnificence of princes are not entirely at their own cost. The exactions made upon the subjects of the Duke of Burgundy, for the purpose of fitting out the Count of Nevers, were scarcely short of terrific. In the first place, "all the countries, cities, and fortresses" being regularly taxed already, the duke had recourse to an impost, which was becoming obsolete, called the *taille de quatre cas*;—a tax, namely, which could be imposed only upon the occurrence of any one of four events,—the ransom of the lord from captivity,—the marriage of his daughter,—his making a voyage beyond sea,—his eldest son entering into knighthood. Supposing

the custom to have been still in full force, the latter contingency certainly applied, but as for voyage *d'outremer*, it was only the son who took it, not the father,—that is, supposing that there was any real intention of penetrating to Jerusalem, after having crushed Bajazet in Hungary, and paid a passing visit of congratulation and comforting to the Greek emperor at Constantinople. *This* impost, laid on for the alleged occurrence of these two contingencies, produced 6,000 crowns of gold! But this was not enough; the direct tax, and tax *de quatre cas*, had been levied, and still the young Count of Nevers had not a sufficiency of "horse, harness, fresh clothes, rich vessell and plate of gold and silver, and officers appointed to do their attendance." The very banners, and pennons, and housings were to be covered with gold and silver, and embroidered arms. The next tax, if it were not for its outrageous oppressiveness, would have something in it almost entertaining. The duke had recourse to his invention. "He found out subtilly," says Froissart,—"il imagina," M. Villaret more modernly phrases it,—yet another mode of fleecing his subjects. He gave this impost the title of *arrière-taille*, which may be translated reserved tax. He ordered all holders of fiefs, whether stalwart knights, or bedridden old men, staid matrons, blooming damsels, or puling children, to join the banners of the Count of Nevers, to follow him to Hungary, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and where-not? "Ladies and ancient knights," Froissart says, "remembering the traveyle of their bodies, and were not shapen nor made to endure such pain, [fatigue, privation] compounded and paid at the will of the duke." And he had not even the customs of chivalry and feudalism to support him in this

measure. They (strange to say) had the modesty not to exact pecuniary composition from children, women, and old men, because they did not consider campaigning to suit their health, strength, and habits. "The will of the duke" was not slightly exerted: all paid according to the value of their goods and lands; and they were valued, as it would seem, at no uncomplimentary rate.

The ardour for this crusade spread very generally throughout France. The Count d'Eu, of the blood royal and Constable of France, insisted upon going with the expedition, of which, of course, he was to have the real command, in the name of the young Count of Nevers; the Admiral of Vienne, the Marshal Boucicault, the Sire de Saimpy*, the Sire de la Tremouille, all very distinguished knights, also joined. Above all, there was the Sire de Coucy, in whose personal charge the Duke of Burgundy placed his son†. Probably there never was a more distinguished army sent forth from France. The Duke of Burgundy accompanied his son as far as Dijon. He would not give him the order of knighthood; he said he should receive the *accolade* on the eve of the first battle against the infidels.

It would seem that the youth of the commander of the enterprise having gathered around him many equally youthful knights, careless and dissolute, the luxury of the camp was something totally beyond the possibility of preserving military regularity or discipline. The equipages of these young men were such that each might be

* Distinguished by effecting the passage of the Lys, above Courtray, in the Flemish wars.—See Notice of the House of Burgundy.

† See Note [3] to the present story.

taken for that of a sovereign prince. The feasting and revelling were carried to the most extreme excess, and licentiousness of every kind prevailed to a degree startling even in those days. The higher orders of the army were supplied from boats which floated down the Danube, within reach of the army, laden with every luxury, while the bulk of the troops pillaged the houses and maltreated the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, which, be it remembered, was that of their well-beloved allies, whom they had come so far to assist.

Sigismund did not quite relish these proceedings; but he framed his remonstrances most delicately in the shape of hints that he did not think that such was exactly the manner in which it was prudent to await the coming of the Turks. He represented that, though Bajazet had not yet arrived, come he assuredly would, and that it was expedient to be ready for him in the manner which experience had proved to be the best way to make war against the Turks. "The Christian puissance that crossed the Danube," for the most part, however, thought otherwise. How they proceeded we shall see in the text.

[2] "*And the Lords of Rhodes came to him strongly.*" p. 32.

These were the knights whose title varied according as they were driven from place to place: first of Jerusalem, next of Rhodes, last of Malta. They appear, from time to time, upon the surface of history, and generally with very great military credit. The defence of Rhodes in its first siege, and its loss in its second, were both of them almost equally marked by warlike glory. But, in the present instance, they do not shine in the least. They appear not to have been actually engaged in the battle, but to have shared with the Hungarians the duties of lookers-on. I referred

to the Abbé Vertot's history of the order, in the hope of getting some spirited comments on the campaign of Nicopolis, derived from the "personal narrative" of some knight of Rhodes, who, on his return, determined that the order should lose none of its glory through his remissness. But no;—there is a full account of the expedition, taken from the usual sources, but it contains scarcely any individual mention of the Knights of Rhodes.

Truly these establishments were most strictly of the middle ages. The arms of the order of St. John had the rays of their setting glory upon them just as that era closed. It afterwards dozed on into very venerable senility, till, in the end, it was extinguished as quietly and humanely as possible, and their last nest had the honour of being the nominal cause of a war in which some millions of lives and very many of money were expended before its close*. A very fitting requiem over the vacant grave of the deceased order. Peace be with it! Now-a-days, we do not need any part of the church to be so militant! The present Bishop of Norwich does not lead armies †, nor do prebendaries take off their cassocks to don casques. No body of priests marched from Rheims or Canterbury to the *last* campaign on the banks of the Danube against the Turks. No; in the nineteenth century, the clergy very wisely consider words the only weapons fit for them to battle with.

[3] "*Then the Lord of Coucy, for all the other, said.*" p. 33. This Lord of Coucy was a very remarkable person: he

* Really, it may be necessary to remind the reader that the renewal of the war in 1803 was nominally because we would not give up Malta, as we had agreed to do, by the treaty of Amiens.

† See vol. II. p. 168.

enjoyed both more reputation and more popularity than almost any man of his age. He was descended from one of the oldest families of France. The lordship of Couci, or Coucy, was always esteemed one of the most ancient and principal baronies in the kingdom, the holders of which were exempt from homage except to the king himself in person. Though the holders of this fief might have called themselves barons, which, till considerably after the time of St. Louis, involved the dignity of peer, they preferred the title of *Sire* de Coucy, which seems to have become a pet name in history, especially in the person of Enguerrand VII., of whom I now treat, the last of his race who was holder of that dignity. There was a saying current with the Sires de Coucy, which originated at the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, which ran thus—

Je ne suis roi ne duc, prince ne comte aussi;
Je suis le Sire de Coucy.

More lately the first line was abbreviated, probably because counties were in fact then held by the reigning Sire. It is certain that when we meet with it, which we often do, said both with pride and affection, of Enguerrand VII., it stands—

Je ne suis roi ni prince aussi;
Je suis le Sire de Coucy.

Enguerrand succeeded to his barony while yet very young: this was in 1346 or 7. He first appears in history as resisting the Jacquerie in 1358. So dreadful a war as that was indeed a sorry beginning. The monstrous misgovernment and oppression prevalent in France had driven the commonalty to despair, till they at last arose in a state not short of frenzy, and avowed they would not

leave a nobleman alive. Awful retaliation for the infliction of awful suffering! Those sufferings were indeed beyond the power of nature to bear. After the battle of Poitiers, the whole of France was delivered up to every possible description of devastation and outrage of the soldiery. "Les malheureux cultivateurs," says Villaret, an historian by no means distinguished for his favour to the common people, "abandonnoient leurs champs à la merci des brigands [the troops] qui les occupoient. Exposés à des insultes continuelles, *op*rimés* indistinctement par les factions *opos*ées, qui sembloient avoir oublié qu'elles avoient à faire à des hommes; rançonnés malgré leur extrême pauvreté, dépouillés de tout, ils voyoïent tous les jours croître leurs maux, sans pouvoir se fla*t*er d'aucun adoucissement. N'a*t*endant plus rien, leur desespoir se convertit en rage." At this I do not in the least wonder, how much soever I may regret it. It is most far from my purpose to say anything in defence of such a horrible mode of freeing themselves from oppression as that adopted by these unhappy wretches. But I must say that I consider the tone of unqualified horror and contemptuous scorn as to their condition, in which the Jacquerie are treated by most historians, without one word being said in blame of the well-born party, fit only to be thoroughly detested and despised.

Enguerrand de Coucy made his first arms—to use a French idiom to express what we have no direct phrase

* M. Villaret has several peculiarities of orthography, of which the suppression of one of double letters is frequent throughout his work; and yet his choice of where to expunge and where to leave, seems quite arbitrary, as the reader may perceive even in the short passage quoted in the text.

for in English—in this accursed warfare. He had assembled a band of gentlemen, at the head of whom he pursued the *Jacques* after their rout, and "massacred them without pity wherever he found them." Pity, alas! was not to be expected in this war really *à toute outrance*; but it cannot but be regretted that the first blood drawn by one who seems to have been a character far more generally amiable than most of his contemporaries, should have been that of his own countrymen in a contest of mutual hatred and guilt.

He continued to be as busy as the declining state of the war would allow him, till the peace of Bretigny, when he became one of the hostages sent to England to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty. Here he became a very great favourite of the king, who gave him one of his daughters, Isabella, in marriage; bestowing upon her, as a marriage portion, the barony of Bedford, and other domains. The Sire de Coucy already had considerable possessions in England, which he had inherited from Christian Baliol, niece of John Baliol, whom his grandfather, who had been brought up at the court of Alexander III., had married*. Edward III. did not, however, rest his benefits to the Sire de Coucy here. He gave him the county of Soissons, which Guy of Blois, another of King John's hostages, had ceded to Edward as a ransom, to be allowed to go back to France. He also made the sire a knight of the garter, and gave him free licence to return home.

Accordingly he did, in 1367; and in the year following received his brother-in-law, the Duke of Clarence, with the greatest splendour at Paris, on his way to Milan to

* L'Art de Vérifier les Dates. It seems more probable that these lands were in Scotland.

marry the daughter of Galéas Visconti. The Sire de Coucy continued to live in great happiness and splendour till the war again broke out between France and England in the year 1370; when he became painfully embarrassed as to the course it befitted him to follow. On the one side, he was born the subject, the vassal, and the ally of the King of France; on the other, he was vassal and son-in-law of the King of England, and had also received from him every proof of affection, in kindnesses, benefits, and honours. He felt that it would be a crime to draw his sword against either the one or the other. Accordingly he determined to pursue a middle course, and obtained the permission of Charles V. to pass into Italy, thus to avoid the necessity of joining either.

There were always plenty of wars in Italy during the middle ages; and no knight, who made war his pastime, need be at a loss for a belligerent party with whom to take service. De Coucy entered into the service of the pope, and served both Urban V. and Gregory XI. with such celebrity, that Charles V. no longer quite liked his absence. He sent to recall him; and, to induce him to return, accompanied his request with the staff of a marshal of France.

The Sire de Coucy returned in 1374; but it would seem that even yet he could not reconcile his mind to bearing arms against his father-in-law and friend, Edward III. He took advantage of the first truce again to leave France; but this time he made his going the means of conferring upon her a benefit. Shortly after his return, the Duke of Austria had died, and his mother having been the sister of the deceased duke, Enguerrand de Coucy laid claim to the allodial succecsion, and prepared to collect troops to march into Austria to support his right.

This was, as I have said, a period of truce in France; and consequently the Companions were ravaging the country as usual. Charles V. had, throughout his regency and his reign, used every possible means to send these carrion-birds off upon some other scent, and he accordingly acceded with delight to the proposition of De Coucy to take them with him into Germany. At this time the celebrated Arnold de Cervalle, called the archpriest, was at the head of the Companions, who lived after their usual fashion in poor France, "their chamber*." Charles V. advanced the Sire de Coucy forty thousand livres to help him to bribe these ne'er-do-weels to enlist †. They did accordingly; and the Sire de Coucy was also joined by several of the first noblemen in France, who brought to his standard fifteen hundred lances. He issued a proclamation to the towns of Alsace that he did not desire to injure them or the emperor, but only marched into Germany to regain the inheritance which was unjustly kept from him. The whole army rendezvoused at Metz in the month of October; and De Coucy, who was an admirable commander, reduced them speedily into excellent discipline.

The Duke of Austria, Leopold, engaged several of the Swiss cantons in alliance to repulse the invaders.

The campaign did not last very long, nor was it much

* They so called it, as considering it the portion of the world set apart for their especial ease and pleasure. See Notice of the Companions, Vol. II.

† In L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, this sum is calculated with reference to the value of money at the date of the publication of that work. The edition I quote from is the third, published in 1784. The forty thousand francs of 1375 are found to be equivalent to 334,114 and a fraction, three hundred years afterwards.

distinguished. The Swiss appear to have been most culpably careless in suffering De Coucy to march through some of their most easily defended passes without opposition. He took the town of Buren; and the Companions destroyed that of Altren, and many castles. But it was to them that the ill success of the expedition is attributable—for three thousand of them were routed by six hundred Swiss; and the same division, which was called the English, afterwards underwent two other checks from the Bernois*. The Sire de Coucy, in consequence of these reverses, returned into Alsace, where he took the small town of Watteville. At length, in January 1376, he made peace with the Dukes of Austria, of whom there were at that time two—brothers. He then returned to France.

The death of Edward III., which took place in 1377, very much changed the position of the Sire de Coucy. The King of England was now only his wife's nephew, instead of his father-in-law, and he was not bound to him by any personal ties of gratitude. He accordingly permitted his wife to return to her native country, and to take with her one of her daughters, who afterwards married Richard II.'s favourite, the Duke of Ireland—who divorced her, to marry one of the queen's maids of honour. De Coucy also sent back the order of the garter, saying that that King and that country which had had his first oaths should have his last services. The decision itself, and re-

* It is probable that these companies derived their names from the country of the men who originally composed, or commanded, them. They generally, however, were of the scum of all the nations of Europe, though they certainly became excellent soldiers in the field. Yet here a few Swiss beat them, as they afterwards did Charles the Bold.

turning the order of the garter, there is no fault to find with—rather the reverse. But really sending back the wife too, seems to be a curious proceeding, unless the princess herself was so severely national that she could not bear to live with her husband if he fought against English troops.

The Sire de Coucy now entered most actively into the service of the French king; in negotiations, as in war, his merit was pre-eminent. So much indeed did Charles V.—no mean judge of men—value him, that on the death of Du Guesclin in 1380, he offered him the sword of Constable. But, just at this time, Charles was about to engage in the only unwise war he ever undertook, namely, in that by which he endeavoured to annex Brittany to the crown; and De Coucy assured him that the new Constable must be a man who knew Brittany and the Bretons—and that Oliver de Clisson was the man. The king appointed De Clisson accordingly; but he still continued to shower fresh honours and employments upon De Coucy as long as he lived.

It is not my purpose to follow the Sire through the details of his most active life. Suffice it, that there were few parts of Europe he did not visit either in diplomacy or in war; and that he acquired the very highest reputation for sense and acquirement, in the one,—and for courage and surpassing skill, in the other.

He had just returned from an embassy to Genoa, when the expedition which forms the subject of the present story, was resolved upon. I shall have occasion in another note to speak of the footing upon which he went; and he will be found most prominent throughout the whole narrative of the campaign. His melancholy death in captivity

is pathetically touched upon by Froissart, and seems to have excited the deepest mourning in France.

Enguerrand de Coucy seems truly to have been a man who possessed qualities seldom combined by the same person, still more seldom in an age like that in which he lived. There is nothing recorded of him of the nature of the infliction of death out of hot blood; he seems to have been gifted with much calmness and sound reflection;—and he is described as a soldier of great love of discipline, skill as to the general management of a campaign, and keen and brilliant vigour in action. Above all, his being so universally beloved, except where the most direct motives of envy intervened, is a proof that he was most amiable. Truly when such a man held the barony, it is a very becoming thing to say of him—and it is not recorded as being said *by* him—

> Je ne suis roi ni prince aussi;
> Je suis le Sire de Coucy.

Truly there were not many rois ni princes like what that Sire de Coucy was.

[4] " . . . *in the mouth thereof* [*the Danube*] *there is in the river a mountain which departeth the river into two parts, and maketh such bruit and noise, that it may well be heard seven mile off, and for that cause there is no ship that dare approach near to it.*" p. 35.

What can have put this preposterous notion into Froissart's head, it is really difficult to conceive. A roaring mountain blocking up the mouth of the Danube, is, however, quite of a piece with several of the stories which the French knights brought with them from the Levant;—

determining, as it would seem, in some measure to console themselves for their defeat and imprisonment by the wonders and delights they met with on their voyage home. Froissart is but too delighted with such pretty romances; and brings, most kindly, additional witnesses to support the narratives of these noble lords and knights. We shall see presently how thoroughly the evidence may be trusted.

None of them, however, pretend to have been to the mouth of the Danube: they had magnificent boats on the upper part of the stream, in which drunkenness and debauchery were carried to an excess which puzzled the quiet Hungarians beyond measure, as they could not understand how such brave men could be so vicious.—They thought it, however, of evil omen; and, of course, the event confirmed them in the belief. If they would but have put their roaring mountain some way higher up the river, the vociferation of such a monster might have reduced even the French profligates to decent behaviour.

I fear, however, that though the grammatical construction of the sentence bears me out in attributing the "bruit and noise" to the mountain itself, Froissart meant only to attribute them to the conflict of the river with this immense intruder. Why be so moderate?—Why not vow that the mountain hailed the boats in the language spoken by their navigators, and told them to keep aloof? Things quite as possible will be put before the reader in a few pages, on the undeniable authority of some of Sir John's friends.

Notwithstanding all this, the worthy Canon may be very safely relied on, when the facts are within his reach. No great writer can be trusted under romantic circumstances: Shakspeare cannot get to the Bermudas without forthwith

putting on record the existence of an Ariel; and Sir Walter Scott never crosses the Highland line without giving credence to all the Gaëlic superstitions. Sir Walter, however, is very impartial on this point. Highland or Lowland—Scottish, British, or foreign, he makes every prodigy real, be it the product of ghost, gipsey, or conjurer's trick. Froissart ought certainly not to have suffered himself to be hampered by latitude, but have brought the mountain above Nicopolis, and have made Jean Sans-Peur swear to it stoutly. He *could* swear pretty stoutly in after life to things of a similar degree of truth.

[5] "*But of one thing I marvel greatly, and that is that I can hear no news from my lord the king, called Lamorabaquin.*" p. 37.

I have endeavoured in vain to discover the meaning and original derivation of this strange title. I have devoted to it more research than the thing probably was worth; but in no one of the many authors I have looked into, is there the slightest notice taken of it. It seems to have been, in Christendom, a generic appellation of the reigning Turk; for Amurath is, likewise, thus designed. The first part of the word, I doubt not, is derived from his name: it is frequently spelled *Amorat* in the old French writers, and the addition of the article is by no means unusual, when the term is considered as a title rather than a name. There is a word in the Encyclopédie, *Amoravis*, which is there stated to have been a generic name for Saracens and Moors. But I think the earlier part of the word more plausibly accounted for in the way I have mentioned above; and the two last syllables are not explained in either case. It matters little whence the

derivation really is; but it is curious that so many writers should have used so strange a title or appellation, so utterly unlike both "Sultan" and "Bajazet," without making the slightest notice or comment. The word, however, is not used in Knolles's History of the Turks.

[6] "*Of all this I had knowledge four months past, by my great friend the Lord of Milan, who sent me goshawks, gerfalcons, and falcons, to the number of twelve, which were the best and the fairest that I ever saw.*" p. 39.

It seems certain, from the universal agreement of all the historians who treat of this Hungarian campaign, that Bajazet, and John Galeas, Lord, and afterwards Duke, of Milan, were in close communication. I confess an alliance of this kind surprises me. All the objects of the ambition of John Galeas lay in the north of Italy. He had already acquired (1st May, 1395) one of the chief of them, viz. the title of Duke of Milan, which had been ceded to him by the Emperor Winceslaus, who also had given him the sovereignty of nearly all the Lombard towns which held of the empire. This duke was one of the cleverest, as well as most wicked, princes of his time: the internal regulations of his country were excellent; but, to promote the objects of his ambition, he paused at no crime however dreadful. He was wont to declare that robbery was committed with impunity in every country of Europe. "Nowhere but in Lombardy can a girl walk along with her money in her hand, without anything to fear, even on the highways. I allow no robber but myself in my dominions."

This man seems, indeed, to have had no idea whatever

of moral restraint. Every one who stood in his way was forthwith put to death, either by poison or open force, and if they were nearly allied to him by blood it mattered not. Truly, he may be termed the very type of a successful villain.

What, however, can have given rise to the league—for it was no less—between him and Bajazet, I have in vain striven to discover. Their lots seem to have been cast in such different parts of the world, that it is difficult to comprehend how the Great Turk could have even known of the existence of the lord of a small territory at the foot of the Alps. Their connection, however, must have been close and well established; for the Duke of Milan sends the sultan, with the falcons, a list of the names of the chief leaders of the French force, and a detailed account of every thing relating to the expedition.

This was of great service to Bajazet, who repaid his friend not long after. I have already said that the dreadful relapses of Charles VI. were, in the most absurd manner, attributed by the general voice in France to the machinations of the Duchess of Orleans, who was daughter of John Galeas. Even supernatural means were attributed to her; and a direct accusation was made of her attempting to poison the dauphin, on grounds the most absurd*. One of the few

* A son of her own and the dauphin were one day playing together. The duchess threw an apple between them, which her son picked up and ate. Not long afterwards he died; and it was asserted that this apple was poisoned, and that she had intended it for the dauphin, although there was not the slightest proof that the boy died of poison at all—which, moreover, she could have prevented, by not suffering him to eat the apple. Never was there more brutal treatment than this unhappy princess was subjected to at the French court; and for no conceivable reason,

good traits recorded of John Galeas, is the indignation with which he heard of his daughter's treatment. He forthwith sent knights to the court of France to defy *à outrance* the duchess's accusers. They were received coldly, and sent back without any answer. Upon this, the duke challenged the king himself.

All this gave rise to great irritation; and John Galeas also tried to prevent the Genoese putting themselves under the protection of France. It was, therefore, determined that, as soon as the truce was concluded with England, which was in negotiation, together with the marriage of a princess of France to Richard II., war should be carried into Lombardy against the Duke of Milan. Meanwhile, however, the battle of Nicopolis was fought, and the Count of Nevers fell into the hands of Bajazet. With the accounts they received from the prisoners, and from other quarters, the French court learned that Bajazet was in the habit of calling John Galeas his good friend, and that they were bound together in close alliance. The Duke of Burgundy in fact ruled France at this time, and he naturally wished to get his son out of the Turk's hands as speedily and cheaply as possible. So far, therefore, from the French king invading the Milanese, he sent the duke the escutcheon of his arms, and permission to quarter them with those of Milan.

It will be observed that the present of which Bajazet speaks in such rapture, consisted of falcons. Italy was in those days famous for them; and the gerfalcon and the

save that she was Italian. She had no possible motive for the conduct attributed to her; there is not a tittle of evidence to prove it; and there is far more original ground of suspicion against other parties, supposing the king's disorder not to have been altogether natural.

goshawk were of peculiar and celebrated species. I have been rather remiss on this subject in my notes to Gaston de Foix. I shall, therefore, give an extract or two concerning it, from a curious old book on ornithology, of which one whole division is devoted to falconry. Below will be found *part* of the all-detailing title-page*.

"The gerfalcon, Turberville saith, is of a fierce and hardy nature, and therefore difficult to be reclaimed—but, being once won, proves an excellent hawk. Latham says, that the gerfalcons are for the most part very kind and loving hawks, and will suddenly be reclaimed and made to love the man. Their tercels or males are called *Jerkins*. The *Haggard* † of this kind is most commendable and easiest to be made for any pleasure."

These are the principal characteristics of the gerfalcons. The proper mode of training them resembles so nearly that of the haggard-goshawk, that I shall give the last only, it is written so exceedingly *con amore*. First, of the qualities of the goshawk:—

* The Ornithology of Francis Willougby, of Middleton in the county of Warwick, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society. Translated into English, and enlarged with many additions throughout the whole Work, To which are added, Three Considerable Discourses.—I. On the Art of Fowling; with a Description of several Nets, in two large copperplates. II. Of the Ordering of Singing Birds. III. Of Falconry. By John Ray, Fellow of the Royal Society. London: Printed by A. C. for John Martin, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXXVIII.

† There seems to be some doubt and some contradictions as to the derivation and meaning of this term. I gather, however, at last, from the facts brought forward by the learned Academician, that, in each species of hawk, the haggard is a variety of superior merit.

"Hawks, of all creatures, are most fearly of man; and the goshawk as coy, nice, and hard to be dealt with as any. She may be won by gentle usage; and will as soon perceive, and unkindly resent, any rough or harsh behaviour.

"The falconer must bring his hawk to be familiar with the spaniel.

"Some goshawks are swift of flight, which, in pursuing and catching their prey, trust to the swiftness of their wings; others fly slow, and win what they get by policy. None of them but by industry may be trained up and made good for somewhat.

"The goshawk is of a hotter temper and stronger constitution than any other hawk; and though the Lanner be accounted the hardiest hawk in use among us, and longest lived, yet the reason is, not the firmness of her constitution above the goshawk's, but because the goshawk, in the time of her pride and fulness, is a froward and unruly bird, and when she is insecured, very prone to extreme bating* (wherefore she requires more labour and attendance of her keeper than any other hawk), and by these extremes she often shortens her days. . . No man is fit to order and manage a goshawk to the covert, but he that hath a strong and able body, and a good spirit and courage to follow her, for in this sport [namely, in the covert], and with this hawk, he must altogether trust to his feet."

And now for the directions for training the wilder hawks, to which I have already alluded:—

"It is the nature of these hawks, when wild, to feed on

* "Bating is endeavouring to fly off the fist or perch to which the hawk is tied."

their prey in covert places, where they may not be descried by such other birds as love them not. Wherefore, also, being reclaimed, whensoever they take it in any plain or champain place, they will be apt to carry it to the next harbour or covert: to reclaim her from this ill quality you must take this course. Though you do call and draw her along after you by your chirping and whistle through the thick and covert places, yet do not there take her to your fist to be fully satisfied, but let her still wait on you till you come to some plain place, and there entertain her to the fist, and let her feed a little thereon; then put to her the leash, and let eat the rest on the ground close by you, and, having reserved some stump, take her to the fist. Thus doing daily, with gentle usage, so long as you call her, you will embolden her, and make her so familiar as never to offer to carry anything from you.

"When she kills, be sure to get gently to her, having before provided her a meal ready drest; and as she sits on the partridge, bestow the same on her in bits, with cleanly conveyance, which will prolong her time in pluming*, and stay the sharpness of her appetite and desire to feed, which she must not do, as it would cause her to love the quarry better than yourself, and to be loth afterwards a long time to be bereaved of it, and thereby take occasion to carry it from you, hoping to enjoy it to herself more quietly

* It seems that a well-trained hawk is allowed, and even encouraged to plume, that is to pluck, a bird which she has struck down, but not to mangle the flesh, further than sometimes just embruing her beak in the blood, or eating the head, which she is sometimes taught to do, without its being severed from the bird. "Then you must teach her to take the head in her foot and eat it on the ground," is part of the general instructions "to enter a goshawk to fly in the field."—Ed.

and secretly; whereas this course will so please her, and draw her love so certainly to you, as she will never after offer to carry one feather from you. All this while, give her no blood at all, but with some reversion take her to your fist again. By this means she will never break the prey so long as there is one feather left on it, but still attend for your coming, and to have a reward only at your hand. When you have well nuzled up and inured her herein, afterward when you find her with a partridge in her foot, then, after a good time spent in pluming, take off the head and neck, and give it unto her with the most part of her supper together, and so take her to your fist."

Such falcons as these—the finest, too, of the finest breeds, of their various kinds—must have, indeed, been most acceptable to Bajazet, who seems to have been exceedingly devoted to hawking. We find him, some pages further on, after the ransom of the French had been agreed upon, taking the Count of Nevers out upon a hawking excursion. Of the magnitude of these expeditions some idea may be derived from the circumstance, that upon a technical irregularity taking place, two thousand falconers' heads are ordered off forthwith. From the turn of the expression, it would not seem that the order was carried into effect; and, moreover, our only evidence is that of persons who narrate things rather more strange even than this, as having happened beyond the limits which ordinary travellers generally reach. Still, I cannot but respect their imagination, if not their veracity, for talking of the simultaneous decapitation of two thousand falconers.

[7] "*Beseeming, the Count d'Eu spake these words by envy he had of the Lord of Coucy; for all that voyage he had*

no love to him, because he saw how the Lord of Coucy had the love of favour of all his company and of other strangers, which he *deserved right well to have, for he was right near to the French king's blood, and bore in armes fleurs-de-lis; and also he was constable of France.*" p. 44.

It is not quite clear to me whether the latter part of this sentence be meant to express Froissart's own opinion, or only his ideas of what the Count d'Eu felt. The word "he" is put into Italics, as from the grammatical construction of the sentence, it would apply to the Lord de Coucy; whereas it, in reality, must have reference to the Count d'Eu.

De Coucy joined this army under very particular circumstances; and he seems to have suggested that the Count d'Eu should occupy the place he himself eventually filled, in the same manner as he had recommended Clisson to be Constable in preference to himself. But the former case I conceive to have arisen entirely from courtesy; whereas, in the last, the fact of Clisson being a Breton rendered his appointment, at that particular moment, beneficial to the nation. De Coucy arrived from Genoa in the middle of all the preparations for the crusade, as they chose to term it. The Duke and Duchess of Burgundy immediately sent for him, and presenting him their son, said, "Sire de Coucy, here is a son who is our heir, and he is about to undertake a great enterprise in the honour of God and of Christendom. Now, sir, we trust much in you; we know that above all the knights of France, you are the most experienced and expert in all things. Wherefore we dearly require you that you would be the companion and chief counsellor with our son in this voyage. Whereof we shall be beholden to you and your's." The Sire de Coucy answered, "Monseigneur, and you, Madame, your requests ought to be a com-

mandment. If it please God, I will go in this voyage for two reasons: the first is for devotion to defend the faith of Jesus Christ: secondly, in that ye do me so much honour as to give me charge of my Lord John, your son. I shall acquit me loyally to him, to my power. Howbeit, could you not well discharge me of this deed, and entrust your son to his cousin and near kinsman, my Lord Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, and Constable of France, and his other cousin the Count de la Marche? These two are both in the expedition, and are near of his blood." It seems, however, that, in *this* instance, the duke and the duchess preferred merit to birth. "Ah!" exclaimed the duke, "Sire de Coucy, you have seen much more than those other two have, and you know much better how an army should be ordered, and what should be done, in strange countries." On this de Coucy could resist no longer—but submitted, adding, that he would, if it pleased the duke and duchess, take Sir Guy and Sir William de la Tremouille, and the Admiral of France, to assist him in his task.

Now, I cannot trace in the whole of this any mark of the spirit of arrogance or self-seeking which the constable, in the passage to which this is a note, imputes to the Sire de Coucy. So far from pushing at this office, he first suggests others of rank nearer to the throne, including the Count d'Eu himself, and afterwards brings three knights, all most distinguished, into the charge with him *. He

* The name of La Tremouille is one of the most distinguished in French history, and these brothers were among the most distinguished who bore it. They did not, however, always agree with the Sire de Coucy afterwards: one of them joined against him in the foolish and fatal advice which lost the battle of Nicopolis, and that even with some taunt against prudence as

appears to have executed his most delicate office with perfect satisfaction to everybody except the Count d'Eu, who took every occasion to cross and thwart him. The lamentable result of this ill-will the reader will see a few pages further on. A man of sufficient leading to be Constable of France must have been indeed blinded by bad feelings to have opposed the Sire de Coucy's advice on the advance of Bajazet. The raw lads, who were with an army for the first time, might be forgiven for thinking of nothing but showing their courage ; but for the Constable of France to enter into their boyish feelings is quite unpardonable. The King of Hungary had often fought against the Turks, and knew their mode of warfare. He foretold, step by step, what occurred, and Coucy and the Admiral de Vienne uniformly had said, from the moment the subject was generally broached at first, and continued so to say up to the last, that it was madness not to attend to the only experienced person among them. At the moment when the decision was ultimately given, Vienne anticipated the result, by exclaiming, that, as reason and truth could not prevail against pride and presumption, all they had to do was to fight their best. The idea that Sigismund wished to gain the glory of the day by putting forward the scum of the Hungarians to interchange death with the scum of the Turks, is too absurd to deserve attention.

I find I have a little anticipated : but as all these evils

lack of courage. Sir Guy died on his way home. Sir Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, was advanced in years, but one not only of the most actively gallant, but of the wisest, knights, that France then possessed. The reader will see how much he was both, presently.

arose from the ill-will which the Constable bore towards the Sire de Coucy, these observations are scarcely out of place.

[9] " *Thus, the king right well received this knight, and so did all other lords, such as were there: and every man said he was happy in this world to be in such a battle, and to have the acquaintance of such a heathen king as Bajazet was, saying it was an honour for him, and all his lineage. Then the king commanded all such as were in prison to be delivered, whereof they were glad.*"—pp. 61-62.

Short as this passage is, there is a very great quantity of the spirit of the age involved in it. In the first place, he "wretched knights and squires"—for be it remembered such they are—who arrive in Paris from the scene of action, run great chance of hanging or drowning, because they do not bring news of a victory. "It is pity these unthrifts be unhanged or drowned, for telling such lies." Why lies?—worthy dwellers at home at ease! were you at Nicopolis? and did you see your countrymen win the battle? No; but how can Turks beat all the chief chivalry of France? these fellows are hungry, and ragged, and lean; how can we believe them, when such as they tell us that the Lord John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, and the Count d'Eu, Constable of France, and of the blood royal, with fleurs-de-lis in his escutcheon, are prisoners with Lamorabaquin? Of course, that *would* have been very ill-bred, and, therefore, as the desperate journey home had taken off the chivalrous glitter from these luckless knights, I think we might admit that, notwithstanding

their numbers, and their coming in at various times,—and their unanimity, it was quite right to send them all to gaol, that their lies might spread no further. There being no possible motive why they should lie, of course goes for nothing. Still it was lucky for them, I think, that what they told was *rather* more within the range of human events than the narrative of the count himself and his comrades, touching the fairies in Cephalonia, and a few other trinkets of that kind. They would have been drowned else, for people would not have believed dilapidated knights and squires with regard to physical impossibilities, though they received them with delight and reverence from liars of lordly degree.

The declaration, also, to Sir Jacques of Helly, that it was an honour to him and all his lineage, that he knew such a prince as Bajazet, is in almost farcical opposition to the foul-mouthed abuse constantly poured out upon any one, against whom a grudge might be entertained, for any alliance or intercourse with *Mahound*. The outcry raised against Peter the Cruel, on that score, the reader has already had before him. The companions, under Du Guesclin, who had just been robbing the pope, went to dethrone Peter, nominally because that very pope had deposed him for "leaguing himself with Mahound!" Their real reason was, because Henry of Transtamare had hired them. And these very princes and lords who now congratulated Sir Jacques de Helly upon his knowing Bajazet, had, the very year before, nay, I believe the same, been foaming against the Duke of Milan for having alliances with this very sultan. What their motive was for hating the Duke of Milan, and how they cooled down after the disaster of the heir of Burgundy, the reader has seen in the sixth note to this

story. These facts, and such occur constantly in the history of this period, tend to prove that the horror expressed against the infidels did not really enter into the religious feelings of the time, but was merely a political engine, used, or contradicted in a manner as barefaced as the two absurd instances I have cited above, as the interests of the moment might prompt. The first would form the stronger epigram, if it were not, perhaps, that the latter is with reference to the identical Turk, concerning whom so great and so recent an outcry had been made.

[10] "*The knight answered that Bajazet took great pleasure in cloths of Arras, made of old ancient histories; and also he said he had great delight in these white falcons called gerfalcons; also he said that fine linen cloths, and fine scarlets, were made much of there, for of cloth of gold and silk they had plenty.*" p. 63.

Truly, Bajazet seems to have had no bad judgment of the falcons of which I have already spoken; but his admiring the magnificent tapestries of Arras proves him to have been no such barbarian in matters of taste. The tapestry manufactured at Arras was, indeed, at that period, the chief production of art. Oil painting was quite in its infancy; and the pains bestowed upon the "histories," as Froissart calls them, which were woven into these "cloths of Arras," gave them an exceeding beauty. The colours, in especial, were most brilliant; and the manner in which they were varied, and placed in opposition and consonance, was peculiarly skilful and effective. In the present instance, the subject of the tapestry was, as the reader will see in the next page of the text, "the history

of Alexander, his life and conquests." I doubt not they were, as Froissart adds, " right pleasant to behold."

The celebrity of Arras for this species of manufacture extended, as is well known, to the giving its name to the production itself. The tapestries with which rooms were hung, were always called the arras, though doubtless the looms of that celebrated city would often have spurned the imputation of having produced them.

[11] "*They sent their letters by post, to make the more haste.*" p. 70.

This phrase had a very different meaning in the days of Froissart from that which it conveys to a modern ear. Posts, in their present acceptation, were not established for many a long year afterwards. The real meaning of this expression here is, that these messengers did not follow the usual mode of travelling on their own horses, but procured relays as frequently as it was possible. Indeed, the communications altogether throughout this transaction seem to have been made with singular speed, when we reflect upon the distance and the number of difficulties thrown in the way. The battle of Nicopolis was fought on the Monday before Michaelmas, 1396, and the prisoners were delivered in the course of the following year. It is to be recollected that this includes the time wasted by the King of Hungary insisting that such fine presents should not go to Bajazet; which necessitated the sending to Paris to obtain the injunction of the French court to let the presents pass. I cannot say I admire the King of Hungary's conduct in thus exposing his good friends and allies to further detention in captivity.

[12] "*Then the king said, 'It passeth not ten year since the soldan sent you a ruby which cost twenty thousand francs.'*" p. 71.

The Duke of Berri was one of the meanest and most avaricious princes of his time. Whenever any foreign state wanted to carry through a project opposed to the interests of France, the first step was to bribe the Duke of Berri. During the minority of Charles VI., after the Duke of Anjou had left France for Naples, the Duke of Berri had a considerable share in the government with his brother of Burgundy; and the filling his coffers seems to have been the only purpose for which he considered government should be carried on. The celebrated expedition against England gathered at Sluys, at such tremendous expense, and on such an extended scale, was paralyzed and ultimately dispersed by the Duke of Berri, who notoriously was bribed by the English to that effect. The cost to France, Froissart estimates at "a hundred thousand franks, thirty times told." The loss to the lords who brought their powers with provisions, for the invasion of England, was terrible. That which had cost a hundred francs, sold, on the breaking up of the host, for ten; and many lost all. There undoubtedly never was a fouler or more injurious instance of national treachery than the Duke of Berri's conduct on this occasion.

His government, also, of Languedoc was one continued course of the most heinous rapacity. The unhappy Charles VI., on his assuming the government, made a progress through his dominions to see with his own eyes how matters stood: had he retained his mind, there is little doubt he would have governed most ably and most amiably. In

Languedoc, which was a commercial and flourishing country, he found that the Duke of Anjou and the Duke of Berri, who had succeeded him in the government, had almost stripped it bare. The people bemoaned themselves to the king, and said, "Sire, as you advance you will find those who formerly were rich now so poor, they cannot afford to work their vineyards, or cultivate their arable land. The imposts come five or six times a year—now for a tenth—now for a quarter, even a third—nay, sometimes for the whole."

After the going of the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Berri still found the country able to furnish money; "for the former took only from those who could pay, but this last is the most rapacious of men. He has spared no one." The king might, therefore, well know that the Duke of Berri cared not whence money or valuables came, so that they reached him at last. Thus, when he supported the King of Hungary in his ungrateful stoppage of the presents to Bajazet, on the score of their being presented to a pagan and a misbeliever, Charles quietly stopped his uncle by reminding him of the valuable jewel he himself had received from this very infidel. The Duke of Berri was decidedly the most contemptible person of his time.

[13] "*This judgment the lords of France saw and heard.*" p. 87.

And an equitable judgment truly it was! Bajazet, doubtless, thought so, inasmuch as, if the emptiness of the man's stomach had proved the woman to have spoken falsely, she would forthwith have been put to death also. And, as for the unjust death of a serving-man, what sig-

nified that, as it was inflicted in the pursuit of justice, and also as he would be revenged? It may be thought very paradoxical, but it really does appear to me that, in a mind accustomed for so long a period to the unlimited exercise of power, and to the most light estimation of human life, some such idea as that of the man, if innocent, being avenged by the woman being put to death, may have arisen. It is fortunate that such is not exactly the modern mode of proceeding. The merits of our criminal law never reached so agreeable a pitch as that.

[14] " *When this Count of Nevers and his company had refreshed them in this island of Cephalonia about a five days, then they took leave of these ladies.*" p. 93.

These are marvellous tales! but they rest on the authority of the heir-apparent of Burgundy. And what sort of authority is his? M. Villaret makes some queer comments thereupon. After narrating the parting speech of Bajazet, which the reader has seen at the beginning of this chapter, he continues thus:—" Comme plusieurs historiens ont rapporté ce discours, on n'a pas cru le devoir passer sous silence; mais il faut le croire sur le reçit du Comte de Nevers lui-même, c'est-à-dire sur le témoignage du prince le moins véridique de son tems." Of the veracity of Jean Sans-Peur, I have not the slightest desire to set up any defence;—I am quite willing that he should add lack of truth to all the other odious qualities which he combined;—but I certainly should not single out this particular speech to support that estimable opinion. It appears to me to be an exceedingly likely one for a haughty, grand-spoken despot like Bajazet to make He

had not suffered much by the attack of the flower of all the chivalry of France, and he did not care how soon they gave him an opportunity of beating them again.

But that Jean Sans-Peur and his companions were not very *véridiques* must be quite clear, if these accounts of Cephalonia were derived from them. The whole description of the island, and, still more, of its inhabitants, certainly displays very considerable talents for romance in every sense. The ladies rule the land; yet, ah! how different from Amazons! They are in immediate connexion with the fairies; and gentle and as beautiful as they, the sway of the island could not have been intrusted by these dainty spirits into more deserving hands!—Fairies! Yes! "Such as know the condition of the isle, *affirm*" that such is the fact,—and "merchants of Venice and Genoa" have seen them. The men of the isle, it is true, although not able to make silk, or to talk to the fairies, can take the former abroad to sell, and are, therefore, kindly looked upon by both the fair and the fairy occupants of the isle. It "has been proved," too, that these Ariel-like beings preserve their chosen dwelling from harm. Those who attempt it perish. The means are not given—whether the spirits "perform a tempest," and, boarding these vessels of the evil-doers—

> ". . . . . . . now on the beaks,
> Now in the waste, the deck, in ev'ry cabin,
> *They* flame amazement;"

or whether with

> ". . . . . . . no sound
> That the earth owes . . ."

they 'tice the wretched harm-doers upon the rocks, is not stated. It would be curious to see the *proof* which was given of the fact of destruction.

Seriously—if one can be serious on such matters—it is almost saddening to see the most intelligent and cultivated persons of that time gravely recording such trinkets as these as facts. That Froissart, a man of clerkly acquirements and habits, should quietly believe these legends of fairies assisting the ladies of Cephalonia to govern the island, and protecting it and them from all mishap, does, considering the life of strong reality in the midst of which he moved, appear to me a great metaphysical curiosity. The manner in which he tells the story of the spirit Orthon * shows that he really was imbued with belief in the existence of beings of this nature. But, in good sooth, after what we have seen in George IV.'s reign, it is not fair to criticise too severely the belief of honest Sir John in that of Richard II.

[15] "*And so came to Venice.*" p. 93.

This may be considered the termination of the only expedition in which the chivalry of northern Europe came into contact with the Turks during the middle ages, after the Crusades. It certainly was one of which the Christians had no reason to be proud. It was conducted throughout with far more attention to "the magnificence of Burgundy," in the person of its "inheritor," and his followers, than to the real objects for which it was undertaken. All the proceedings before Nicopolis were unworthy of a civilized army—except, perhaps, the brilliant skirmish led by the Sire de Coucy. It is very possible that the Turks might have massacred their prisoners after

* Vol. ii. p. 112.

the battle, at all events; but the "preux chevaliers" set them the example, by putting all their's to death before it. M. Villaret gives the following powerful condemnation of the conduct of the Europeans on this occasion:—"On peut dire qu'en cette occasion ces Turcs qu'on dedaignoit, témoignèrent autant de courage que d'expérience et de génie militaire, et qu'au contraire, nos troupes se comportèrent en vrais barbares. Ils avoient, avant le combat, égorgé tous leurs prisonniers, malgré la foi qu'ils leur avoient donnée. Un pareil acte d'inhumanité ne les rendoit que trop Margaret dignes du sort qui les attendoit."

On the other hand, Bajazet certainly appears to considerable advantage throughout the whole campaign. He certainly had no sort of right to enter Hungary,—but the idea of the absence of that right was certainly the very last that by possibility could enter into his mind. Looking over this point, his behaviour was certainly that of a great prince and warrior. The prisoners whom he did retain were very fairly treated throughout; and, after they were brought to Bursa, where he resided, not only well, but courteously. One could wish that the Count of Nevers had brought home an account of some of the conversation he held with his extraordinary conqueror, instead of the pretty tales which he bore from Cephalonia. Bajazet was, beyond doubt, a very remarkable person—a thorough Turk, but a great one. Some court memoirs, in the fashion of the French, *pour servir à l'histoire*, would be highly entertaining; and I really wonder that Froissart did not pick some up from the knights who had been taken at Nicopolis. If it had been twenty years before, I doubt not that he would; but the battle of Nicopolis was in the last few years of his life, when he had reached

an advanced age; still he had lost none of his vigour of writing; for, as I have already said, the narrative of the expedition to Nicopolis displays his most picturesque and animated style: indeed, I may add, that it is strongly characteristic of the spirited tone of composition which we meet in the livelier and more vivid parts of his Chronicles; and there are many such.

It is impossible to dismiss the consideration of the Count of Nevers' return, without touching upon one point, which I must confess I think none of the writers who treat of it consider in a fitting light—I allude to the mode in which the money was raised to get him out of the scrape which it had cost such enormous sums to get him into. I will set before the reader here (it is well worth conning twice) a passage he will find in the next page, that I may be able to bring it into this, my general *envoy* of the story.

"The Duke took counsel where this money should be raised, for the Duke could not break nor minister his estate, *nor was it his mind to do so.* Then it was determined that the rich men in all his good towns should be taxed, and specially they of Flanders, because they were rich by reason of their merchandise. This taxation was set forward; and when they of Ghent were called courteously to the matter, they answered and said they would gladly help to aid their inheritor with the sum of 50,000 florins. In like wise they of Bruges and other good towns of Flanders were ready to aid their lord."

I cannot but consider the whole of this passage to be most important, as illustrative of the spirit which actuated the parties named therein. It is by such casual

notices as these, that, in reading history with attention, we get at the real truth, in despite of the colouring given by partial feeling to one side or other to its general course. How have most historians—Froissart included, though not in the exclusive manner of some—how have most of them represented the quarrels between the Flemings and their lords? Thus: the lords have been temperate and equable; kind, just, and pained to the heart by the unruly conduct of their subjects. The burghers have constantly, without any conceivable cause except their own turbulence of disposition, risen against these excellent governors, in a manner the most insolent, fierce, and bloody—making the necessary imposts for conducting public affairs the pretext for complaints of oppression, and always needlessly crying out about their absurd privileges and franchises. Such is the picture drawn by historians dependent upon, or in constant contact with, the lordly party. Let the reader just cast his eye once more over the passage set at the head of this note; let him call to mind the degree of the taxation (detailed in the first note to this story) which the Duke of Burgundy had imposed upon his subjects, for an expedition with which they had as much concern as we have with any internal dissension which may at this moment be existing in Japan—a taxation, also, which was as little even legal, as morally just;—let him look upon the cold, heartless selfishness by which the Duke was withheld from "breaking or ministering his estate—it was not his mind to do so!" There must be no mistake about the meaning of these words:—to break or minister his estate, does not mean, as it would in the current English of the present day, to part with any portion of his land; it means

merely to lessen the grandeur of his establishment, by curtailing in some degree the splendour of his daily life, to render available at once some of the sums lavished upon an enormous retinue, and all the countless expenses necessarily incidental to it. But no—" la magnificence de Bourgogne" was a term already beginning to be current —touch not upon that!—tax the merchant—grind the poor—let their money be exacted with an unsparing gripe; but let no jot of the splendour of the Duke's palace be diminished for a month. And—will it be believed?—this very magnificence, derived directly, as it was, from the most grinding taxation, has constantly been held up a direct merit of Philip, as well as his successors! Even a writer of this day* has the following passage with reference to the marriage of the Duke to Margaret of Flanders:—" This marriage threw the Duke into great expense, for it was fitting that everything should be done magnificently. He borrowed money from the King and from all the great lords. He assembled the Estates of Burgundy, and sent them his counsellor, Peter d'Orgemont, who communicated to them all his difficulties. He obtained from them that the tax of twelve *deniers* in the *livre* upon all merchandise sold, should be continued for another year. The Duke collected all the pearls, diamonds, jewels, and precious stones of all sorts, that he could find. Enguerrand, Sire de Coucy, alone sold him eleven thousand francs' worth.

" He set off in the month of June, 1369, with a brilliant suit, to go to Ghent, where his wedding was to be celebrated. He crossed Flanders in the greatest state,

* M. de Barante.

giving everywhere grand festivals. A crowd of great lords and of *noblesse* flocked from all parts to assist at these solemnities. The Sire de Coucy shone above all others by the nobleness and courtesy of his manners. The King of France had sent him thither expressly as the knight who would most become a festival.

"But the Duke Philip had been so magnificent, had acted *so generously*, that, four days after his marriage, he had no money left for his return. He still had some jewels; he pledged them with three citizens of Bruges, where, again, he gave a splendid feast to the principal people of the town."

So generously!—Truly, it is easy to be generous with other people's money! The whole tone and spirit of this passage are bent to excite admiration of the gorgeous proceedings of the Duke; not one syllable is wasted upon the effect of the exactions from the people which were to pay for them. Generous, quotha!

The new father-in-law of the Duke, Louis, Count of Flanders, was as fond of "magnificence" as himself; the taxation to support which, led, as we shall show in the notice prefixed to the next story, to all the horrors of the Flemish troubles during the latter part of his reign. These troubles, I am well aware, are often attributed solely to the turbulent spirit of the Flemings. In the first place, general risings of a people scarcely ever occur from mere turbulence. Some privilege they believe (wrongly or rightly) to be invaded,—some tax they conceive (still wrongly or rightly) to be either imposed in a manner contrary to their franchise, or to be beyond endurance;—such causes much more frequently occasion risings, and manifestly did those of the Flemings. Moreover, to

show that when there was a manifest cause of need for a large and sudden sum, the Gantois and the burghers of the other towns of Ghent were not over-rigid in investigating the justice of that cause, is apparent from the frank and generous readiness with which they came forward with the large sums mentioned in the text, "to aid their inheritor," without casting a glance back upon all they had contributed towards his outfit for his ill-fortuned expedition. Here we see, I think, a practical refutation of the niggardliness attributed to the Gantois in the imposition of taxes. The truth was, they always, and very wisely, insisted upon keeping, according to the charters of Ghent, their imposition strictly in their own hands, and sometimes, it is very probable, were rather chary as to grants for mere purposes of ostentation on the part of their lords; give but a cause of something like reality on the face of it, and their purses were as open as they were full. They had contributed richly to the original expedition; and now, finding that "their inheritor" was in a distant and dangerous captivity, they instantly proffer a lavish aid.

It is curious, I think, to compare this conduct on the part of "la canaille"—"les orgueilleux vilains de Flandre,"—with that of the *father* and the *mother* of the prisoner, who would not, to aid in ransom, abate one jot of that magnificence which they thus seemed to love better than their first-born son!

Before I conclude the account of this martial expedition outward, and party of pleasure homeward, I must notice one remarkable omission on the part of the writers on the subject of these two progresses. That the first was very unfortunate, and very expensive, both to

France and to the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, is acknowledged by them all—contemporary and subsequent. Still there is one point of misfortune on which, as far as my reading goes, I have not found any of them touch. That the historians then living should be silent upon it, there are many very intelligible reasons on the surface; but I by no means can equally understand how it is that no writer of a more recent date should have said that the great misfortune to France and the rest of this expedition was, that Jean Sans-Peur did not perish in its course. The reader will be reminded, in the notice which immediately follows, of those horrors which no one whose eye has once glanced upon French history can ever forget; and I doubt not he will agree with me in thinking, that France had hideous cause to mourn that the Count of Nevers escaped alike from the scimitar and the prison of the Turks, and the pestilence which awaited his return to Europe at Venice.

HISTORICAL NOTICE

OF THE

(SECOND) HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

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OF THE

(SECOND) HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

[BEING INTRODUCTORY TO THE STORY OF "THE LAST DAYS OF CHARLES THE BOLD*."]

THE extinction of the race of Burgundy, of the house of Valois, in the person of Charles, called the Bold, forms the subject of the following story. As this race bore a part of peculiar prominence during the period through which this work extends, I purpose here to set a consecutive summary of its history before my readers.

In the year 1361, Philip, called of Rouvre, from the place of his birth, last of the elder house of Burgundy, died, at the age of fourteen, without issue. His duchy reverted to King John of France, in right of his mother, Jane of Burgundy, sister of Eudes, grandfather of the young Duke Philip. One would

* He is called by the French writers, quite as frequently, and far more justly, Charles le Téméraire, as Charles le Hardi. But I have never seen Charles the *Rash* in any English author; so, to avoid singularity, I have retained the ordinary designation.

have thought that so valuable an acquisition to the crown would have been retained with scrupulous care; and that so large an integral portion of the kingdom, territorially, would never again have been divided from it politically. But, amongst the many errors of his reign, John has to number the alienation of this most important possession—an act which raised up within the heart of France a power almost equal to that of the French king; which, for many years, caused the furious intestine divisions by which that unhappy country was ravaged, and which, ultimately, became nearly powerful enough to subvert the very existence of the monarchy itself, during the reigns of Louis XI. and Charles the Bold.

Philip was the youngest son of John: he was also his favourite. He was the only one who did not fly at the battle of Poitiers; on the contrary, he stood by his father with a courage very remarkable for his years*, (he was only fourteen,) and was taken prisoner with him. This tended to increase the peculiar affection with which the king already regarded this son; and there could not be a more splendid proof of it than the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy, which he conferred upon him in preference to his brothers of Anjou and of Berri. The duchy, the cession of which

* "He exposed himself," said the king, "with a good will to death with me; and, wounded as he was, stood firm and without fear in the battle, and was made prisoner with me, and has never ceased to give me proof of his constant and filial love."—*Barante.*

took place in 1363, several writers affirm, was to revert to the crown in default of heirs male,—which it eventually did: but there is no provision to that effect, *in words*, in the patent of investiture; the grant there is to Philip and his lawful heirs—the question, therefore, must consist in the construction of the term "lawful."

In addition to the duchy of Burgundy, Philip, by his marriage, in 1369, with Margaret, daughter of Louis of Mâle, Count of Flanders, eventually added the vast possessions of that prince to those which were already his. But the rule over the Flemings was not either to be acquired or retained with such ease as that of the Burgundians, who were ignorant of anything but feudal subjection. The cities of the Low Countries were, at that time, the most eminent in Europe, in population, in industry, in commerce, and, above all, in that spirit of independence so frequently the concomitant of the two latter qualities. Unlike the miserable serfs and vassals of France and England, the citizens of Ghent and Bruges were rich, and, what is more, rich from their own skill and industry; and thence they felt their own value, and were ever forward and powerful in asserting their rights.

The Counts of Flanders, on the other hand, surrounded by feudal potentates, brooked but uneasily the modified power which these sturdy burghers would alone permit them to possess. They were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the privileges of the

people, especially with regard to taxation; while these, again, in reasserting them, would rush into a degree of licence and violence very disgraceful to so good a cause as the maintenance of their chartered rights against aggression. To make the events in which Philip of Burgundy was an actor, clear to the reader, it is necessary to go into a retrospect of Flemish history, which I do with the less reluctance, as it is both very interesting in itself, and of a character considerably different from that of the major part of these volumes, in which, for obvious reasons, the *people* figure very little on the scene.

Flanders was divided into what were called "the four members of Flanders;" namely, Ghent, Ypres, Bruges, and the country round Bruges, which was called *Le Franc*,—I conclude from equally possessing the free privileges of the towns. These privileges had been conferred upon them by charter nearly two centuries before Philip the Bold succeeded to the country; and from that moment they had begun to rise in manufactures and commerce, and, thence, in wealth. One of the most important of these privileges was, that they should not be taxed without their consent. They also had the power of appointing their own magistrates. These two great privileges contributed to make them the freest people in Europe; and, devoting that freedom to the exercise of commercial pursuits, they speedily became the wealthiest and most prosperous. The spirit of commerce has, indeed, always gone hand

in hand with that of freedom; and prosperity has, for the most part, attended their union. The Count of Flanders, from time to time, attempted to curtail these privileges; and the burghers nearly always rendered their successful defence the means of extending them. The Gantois, especially, were sensitive about their rights, and bold, perhaps turbulent, in asserting them.

It so happened that, at the time Edward III. was, through the instigation of Robert of Artois, forming alliances with the princes of the Low Countries against the French king*, the cities of Flanders paid scarcely

* It is certain that Robert of Artois' original offence was highly culpable. He produced, in a cause which was moved before the King of France, a forged document. Nothing can be said in defence of such a proceeding. But Philip's subsequent conduct towards him was most cruel and unaccountable. The Count of Artois had been his chief favourite and counsellor for some years. On the forgery being discovered, he not only drove him from France, but from his own county of Artois, and subsequently from the realm of every prince of the Netherlands who received him. The Count of Namur was compelled, sorely against his will, to cause Robert of Artois to leave him; and the Duke of Brabant, who received him most hospitably, had his country invaded, in consequence, by a large French force under the Constable of France, together with several of the princes on the German side of the Low Countries, hired and paid by King Philip.. "They entered," says Froissart, "with a great host into his country . . . . and *burnt twice over the country where as it pleased them!*" The Duke was compelled to withdraw his protection from Robert of Artois, who fled to England. His wife and two sons, "who were the king's own nephews," had been put into prison by Philip, who "sware they should never come out of prison as long as they lived." Truly, justice was agreeably administered in those days! We need

any subjection to their Count, who lived in retirement, almost wholly deprived of power. The real ruler of Flanders, indeed, was the celebrated Jacques d'Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent. He entirely governed the people, and, as it would seem, with a degree of wisdom and justice which cannot but cast doubt upon the acts of cruelty laid to his charge, which acquire double improbability from the circumstance of their being represented as of constant occurrence. A sudden and individual act of violence—or more than one —was, alas! but too often, in those days, compatible with the character of a generally excellent ruler; but I cannot regard such doings as the following as at all in conformity with the general character given of D'Arteveldt, still less with the fact of the long continuance of his power (which existed solely by sufferance) among a people such as the burghers of Ghent at that time. Froissart says, that "he had always going with him, up and down in Ghent, sixty or fourscore varlets armed; and among them, there were three or four that knew the secretness of his mind, so that if he met a person that he hated, or had him in suspicion, incontinent he was slain; for he had commanded his secret varlets, that whenever he met any person, and made such a sign to them, they incontinent should slay him, whatsoever he were, without any words or reasoning." And yet, in the very

not wonder, I think, at the enmity of Robert of Artois towards the French king.

same page, the worthy historian asserts that, "to speak properly, there never was in Flanders, nor in none other country, prince, duke, nor other, that ruled a country so peaceably as this Jacques d'Arteveldt did rule Flanders." Truly, Froissart must have a strange idea of peacefulness if he regarded that as a peaceful rule, under which the throat-cuttings described above could go on and prosper. It is fair to add that the passages I have cited are in that part of Froissart's history of which he was not a contemporary, but writes, in great part, from previous authors. Still, such contradictions are remarkable. But, be the truth as it may, touching the character of D'Arteveldt's government, it is certain that he did govern, and that almost unrestrainedly. All the public revenues were paid to him; and, as long as things went on regularly, he was never asked for any account of how he expended them.

English ambassadors were at this time at Valenciennes, treating with the Count of Hainault about making war against the King of France. The Count of Hainault was King Edward's father-in-law, and brother-in-law to Philip de Valois; but the latter had offended him upon several occasions, and done him direct injury upon some: therefore, he warmly joined in Edward's projects, and had assembled some of the princes of the borders of Germany and the Low Countries at Valenciennes to treat with the ambassadors of the King of England. During these discussions it was suggested of what extreme advantage it would be if the

Flemings could be got to join in this confederacy; for the Duke of Brabant having already most warmly entered into alliance with Edward, the accession of the Flemings would, with thatof the other confederated princes, throw nearly the whole of the power of the Low Countries into the scale against France. The Count of Hainault thoroughly agreed in the advantage of securing the aid of the Flemings, and said that the only way to accomplish this was, in the first instance, to secure the goodwill of D'Arteveldt. Accordingly, the English ambassador, went into Flanders,—the head of the embassy, the Bishop of Lincoln, going, with some others, to Ghent, to D'Arteveldt,—while some went to Bruges, and some to Ypres,—al living in the most magnificent style, and spending money lavishly to the furtherance of their ends.*

D'Arteveldt was thoroughly gained over; and he assembled the councils of the good towns, and set before them what the King of England desired, and all the franchises and amities which he offered them.

* An old knight of Ghent, who was universally respected and beloved, chanced to do much honour to the English. This reached the ears of the French king, who sent a command to the Count of Flanders to send for the kinight, "and as soon as he had got him, to strike off his head." The Count, not daring to disobey Philip, sends an invitation to the poor knight, who went "as that he thought none evil." His head was immediately stricken off, to the sorrow of many, because the Count was well liked by the lords of the country. It is to be hoped, then, that he did not often indulge in treacherous cruelties like this.

They were exceedingly taken with the views laid before them by D'Arteveldt; and they agreed cheerfully that the King of England should come and go in Flanders as he pleased, and that every assistance should be rendered to his armies;—"Howbeit," they said, "they were so sore bound to the French king, that they might not enter into the realm of France to make any war, without they should forfeit a great sum of florins." The negotiation, however, was considered by the English as highly favourable; and they rejoiced greatly at the influence they had gained throughout the Low Countries.

The war began, and the Flemings abetted and helped the English in every way, except that of actually joining them in arms. At last, the German princes began to tire of the ill success of the war, and urged King Edward to engage the Flemings actively in his cause, at all events. Edward was at this time at Brussels, surrounded by all his German and other allies; and a solemn meeting was appointed to be held there, to which D'Arteveldt was requested to come. He came, accordingly, numerously accompanied, and with all the councils of the good towns of Flanders. Then the King of England requested the Flemings to join with him, and defy the French king; and, if they would, he promised to assist them in recovering Lisle, Douay, and Bethune. The Flemish councils received this request cheerfully, but begged to be allowed to consult upon it in private. They did so; and their answer was so remarkable, and had

such extraordinary consequences, that I will copy it in Froissart's words:—

"Sir," they said to King Edward, "ere this time you have made to us request in this behalf. Sir, if we might well do this, saving our honour, and to save ourselves, we would gladly do this. But, Sir, we be bound by faith and oath, and on the sum of two millions of florins, in the Pope's chamber, that we may make nor move no war against the King of France, whosoever it be, on pain to lose the said sum; and, besides that, to run in the sentence of cursing. But, Sir, if you will take on you the arms of France, and quarter them with the arms of England, and call yourself King of France, as you ought to be of right, then we will take you for rightful King of France, and demand of you quittance of our bonds; and so you to give us pardon thereof as King of France. By these means we shall be assured and dispensed withal; and so then we will go with you whithersoever you will have us."

Edward, at first, did not relish this proposal, for he felt the ridicule of calling himself king of a country of which he had not yet conquered an acre, and of which it was exceedingly doubtful whether he ever would: but, on the other side, he was exceedingly loth to give up the aid of the Flemings, which was of the highest importance to him; and he saw well that he could not obtain it without yielding to their wishes on this point. The lords of the empire, also, and his other allies, pressed him most strongly to accede to

the request of the Flemings. He consented, therefore; and thus did the good towns of Flanders,—or perhaps it might be said, a private citizen of one of them,—give the title of King of France to the kings of England.

It is not my purpose to follow the course of Edward's wars, but merely to touch upon such parts as affected the fortunes of the Flemings. Philip de Valois was, as it may be supposed, exceedingly indignant at their recognition of Edward's title; he, however, thought it best to treat with them. He accordingly sent to them "a prelate under colour of the Pope," who said to them from Philip, that if they would return and acknowledge themselves to hold of him, and forsake the King of England, "who had enchanted them," he would pardon them all their offences, and would acquit them of the great sum of money in which they were bound to him "by obligation of old truce." He also promised them many fair franchises. Philip then complained to Pope Clement VI., upon which the Pope "did cast such a sentence of cursing, that no priest durst sing or say, there, any divine service." The Flemings, upon this, made great complaint to the King of England, who promised them that, when he came over the sea, he would bring priests from his own country who would sing masses, whether the Pope would or not, which, he said, he had privilege to do. The Flemings thus were appeased, and remained firm in their alliance with him.

Philip, in consequence, ordered his garrisons of Tournay, Lisle, and Douay, to overrun the neighbouring parts of Flanders; orders, alas! of a nature always but too cheerfully obeyed, and carried into execution in their very utmost extent. D'Arteveldt determined on avenging this inroad, and sent and appointed with the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Suffolk, who were at Ypres, to rendezvous before Tournay on a given day. But in going thither, the two earls were taken prisoners in passing Lisle, after a skirmish most spiritedly narrated by Froissart; and thus D'Arteveldt's enterprise broke up.

Shortly after this, about Easter 1340, the King of France's eldest son, John, Duke of Normandy, made an incursion into Hainault,—the Count of which country, son to the one before mentioned in this Notice, and his uncle Sir John of Hainault, a most distinguished knight, were among the firmest partisans of Edward III. The Count of Hainault appears to have made exceedingly good resistance to the great force of the Duke of Normandy. Sixty thousand Flemings, headed by D'Arteveldt, came to his assistance; and the two armies remained at bay for a considerable time, with the Scheldt running between them. The Count of Hainault seems to have wished above all things to fight, but he could not cross the river; and the Duke of Normandy would not listen to his proposition of allowing him to build a bridge, that he might come over to fight. Neither did the Count's own counsellors desire this, as Edward was daily

expected with a great force to besiege Tournay, and they wished their own host to be fresh and unbroken. The Duke of Normandy, on the other side the river, seems to have been dawdling away his time besieging a town called Thyne l'Evêque, which the presence of the numerous army of the Count of Hainault reassured, and, I believe, ultimately relieved. It is not to be traced in Froissart, whether this town surrendered, but I should conceive not. The arrival of Edward, who signalized his landing by a splendid naval victory at Sluys, speedily assembled all the power that could be made on both sides, in attack and defence of Tournay, to which place he laid siege.

Previously, however, Jacques d'Arteveldt, in an assembly at Valenciennes, the capital of the Count of Hainault, of both the neighbouring potentates and the commons, congregated in the market-place, addressed them on the right of the King of England to the crown of France, and dwelt on what great power Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant would have, if they were leagued together. His address was exceedingly praised for its wisdom, eloquence, and experience; and he was declared, by high and low, right worthy of governing Flanders. Nor were his words mere empty air; for, at a council held a short time afterwards at Villevorde, by Edward and his allies, an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the three countries above named, was solemnly entered into. In all things they were to assist and comfort one another; and if two of them disagreed, the third was to decide be-

tween them; or, if that were not feasible, an ultimate appeal was to lie to the King of England. And all sorts of regulations of good will and amity were entered into.

After this Edward began, with all his allies, his celebrated siege of Tournay. It is not my purpose to enter into any of the numerous details of this siege. Suffice it, that it was terminated by a truce, which being agreed upon, the Flemings retired to their homes, like the rest of the army.

D'Arteveldt would appear to have retained his power and influence unmolested for some years. At length, however, his alliance with the King of England became so close, that he ventured, on his behalf, upon a measure which was just beyond what the Flemings would bear. He had promised Edward III. to make him "lord and heritor of Flanders," by erecting it into a duchy, and bestowing it upon the Prince of Wales. Influenced by these hopes, Edward came to Sluys with a large fleet, about the middle of June, 1346, and brought with him his son, the Prince of Wales, for the affair of the dukedom to be completed. To Sluys there came D'Arteveldt, and the councils of the good towns of Flanders; but a great proportion of these last was against the proposition altogether. Although they liked to live with all their privileges enforced against the Count of Flanders, yet they by no means wished to oust him from his nominal sovereignty. He was their own natural lord, and they shrank from the notion of "disheriting" him and his

son, to "enherit" a foreigner. It would appear that Bruges and Ypres were much less strongly against the plan than D'Arteveldt's own town of Ghent. It seems strange that he had not thoroughly sounded the burghers before the assembly at Sluys; but I conclude he thought that his own popularity, backed by the dignity and splendour of King Edward's state, would carry everything before it. But he was mistaken; the most the King and himself could get from the sturdy Flemings was, that in so weighty a matter it was needful to consult with their constituents, and that the decision should go according to the opinion of the majority. They stated that they would return within a month, and make known the result. The King and D'Arteveldt wished to have the answer given sooner, but the burghers were steady, and refused; and they departed, accordingly, to their own towns.

D'Arteveldt remained behind a few days with the king, and then set off on his return to Ghent, to influence the decision of the people; but he found his influence gone! The persons who had been at Sluys, at the council held there, had returned before him, and had summoned a meeting of the people in the market-place, where it was stated to them what the request of the King of England was, and also that it was at the instigation of D'Arteveldt. At this the people were sorely displeased; they did not desire to depose their natural lord, and said that no such untruth should be found in them. They broke up in great irritation against D'Arteveldt.

Once the mood of a popular body is thus changed, the new current is easily heightened; and thus it was in this case. During the interval between the return of the other deputies and of D'Arteveldt, those burghers who had taken the greatest offence at the proposed measure, went about the city exciting the people against him. They said he had for nine years collected all the revenues of Flanders, and had rendered no account of them; that thus he had been able to "keep his estate"—namely, his splendid manner of living; and that he had secretly conveyed large sums to England. Accordingly, as he rode into Ghent, his reception was most chilly and threatening; and he saw, from the altered demeanour of every one, that a storm was rising against him: he accordingly made fast his gates, doors, and windows, as soon as he reached home. No sooner was this done than a crowd assembled in the street, and attacked his house before and behind. After a very determined resistance, D'Arteveldt found that his house must be forced, and, therefore, went to a window to address the crowd. He was bareheaded, and his manner was distinguished by great humility. He asked them in what he had given them offence? and promised, if they told him wherein he had erred, to make them amends. They cried out that they would have an account of the great treasure of Flanders, which he had sent out of the way, "without any title of reason." D'Arteveldt answered meekly, denying that he had ever taken anything of the treasure of Flanders; and promised

that, if they would retire quietly, he would render an account that would thoroughly satisfy them the next morning. But they insisted upon having it on the instant; adding, that they knew he had secretly sent great riches to England—wherefore he should die. He then remonstrated with them, saying they had sworn to defend him from all, and now they were going to slay him without cause; and reminding them of the happiness and wealth they had enjoyed under his government. Finding, however, he could not appease them, D'Arteveldt endeavoured to escape at the back of his house; but the crowd burst in, in great numbers, and he was slain.

It is remarkable that in the very minute detail given of this scene in Froissart—the whole that was said being thrown into dialogue—no word is uttered concerning the real cause of dissatisfaction; the transference, namely, of the sovereignty to Edward; but that the burghers laid their quarrel upon grounds they had never dreamed of before, viz., the misappropriation of the revenue of Flanders. That Jacques d'Arteveldt had not rendered any regular account, is likely enough; but it is evident, that for nine years none had been demanded; and it is manifest that the burghers chose this complaint as, at that time, unanswerable, whereas he might have made great defence on the subject of the King of England. That the Flemings were right to reject this proposition, there can be no doubt. They soon, however, fell under princes whose whole interests, views, and deeds

were foreign; and, indeed, from the period of the succession of the House of Burgundy in 1384, till the arrangements consequent upon the peace of 1814, these, the people who were the earliest free in Europe, and the most so for so long, can scarcely be said to have had a national government. The Dukes of Burgundy were always directing their attention to France; and after their line becoming extinct, Flanders was, till our own time, always an appendage of some foreign state.

D'Arteveldt was, undoubtedly, a man of no ordinary mind and character. He shared, alas! but too largely in the reckless blood-shedding so prevalent in that age; but his general government seems to have been conducted with peculiarly great judgment, activity, and success.

After D'Arteveldt's death, matters seem to have gone on more quietly. The Count of Flanders was killed at Crecy, and was succeeded by his son Louis, then about fourteen years of age. The year after, during the siege of Calais, great negotiations arose for his marriage with the daughter of Edward III.; but his wishes were all French, and he declared, over and over again, that he would not marry the daughter of the man who had slain his father; which expression seems to me, I confess, a strange one to use, when his father was killed in a pitched battle, of which King Edward commanded the army opposing that in which the Count of Flanders fought. All the Flemings were violently in favour of the English

alliance; and, after long and obstinate resistance, the young Count submitted, and met Edward and his court at Bergues, near Gravelines, where he was affianced, in great state, to the English princess. The Count, notwithstanding, seems never to have given his real intentions to this marriage; for during the interval which was to elapse between the betrothment and the actual marriage, he escaped, at a hawking-party, from the *surveillance* under which the Flemings kept him, having sore, and, as it seems, tolerably well-grounded misdoubtings of their liege lord's good faith.

He went straight to the King of France, and in the same year married Margaret, daughter of John III. Duke of Brabant. The year following, 1348, his subjects themselves begged him to return, which he did, and continued to reign in peace and prosperity.

The Count had issue, one only daughter, born in 1350, whom Fate seems most decidedly to have fixed should be Duchess of Burgundy; for at seven years old, she was married to Philip of Rouvre, whose decease without issue caused, as we have seen, the duchy to revert to King John. She became a widow when she was eleven; and being then the richest and most distinguished heiress in Europe, she was sought after by "princes and peers" from every quarter. The suitor approved by her father (who seems to have overcome his aversion for English alliances), and by the whole body of Flemings, who always strongly inclined towards the English, was the Earl of Cambridge, son of Edward III.; but Louis's mother,

Margaret of France, was violently opposed to this match, and used all her interest with her son to prevent it. There were dispensations of relationship needed, which Urban V., who held for the French party, and who indeed was by birth a Frenchman, would not grant. This delayed the marriage much, and in the mean time the Duke of Burgundy was proposed as a suitor by his brother, Charles V. This, it seems, displeased greatly both the Count and the Flemings. They opposed it with the utmost earnestness. The Countess-dowager, however, was even more violent the other way; for after the negotiations of marriage had dragged on for several years, when the King of France had come as far as Tournay to see Louis on the subject, and Louis had feigned sickness, so that they did not meet, Margaret determined to bring matters to issue with her son. She sought him out, and entreated him to give his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. On his continuing to refuse, she threw open her bosom, and exclaimed—"As you will not obey the will of your King * and of your mother, I will, to shame you, cut off this breast which hath fed you—you and none other—and give it to the dogs to eat." To this delicate threat she is represented as having added—"I will also disinherit you; you shall never have my county of Artois." These two menaces together seem to have had the desired effect. The

* The Kings of France were suzerains of the Counts of Flanders.

Count "threw himself at his mother's feet," and promised that his daughter should marry the Duke of Burgundy. She did; and thus did Flanders eventually pass under foreign rule. This most important marriage took place in the month of June, 1369.

The reign of Count Louis had passed, on the whole, up to this time, and continued for some years later, in considerable prosperity. His mind was indolent, and he was devoted to luxury and pleasure; he felt that the only way of ensuring quiet enjoyment, was remaining at peace. He, accordingly, had throughout the wars between France and England declared himself neutral, and had displayed considerable ingenuity in contriving to remain so. He had also kept the Flemings very much at peace among themselves, and quiet towards himself. Trade throve, riches increased, the people were in plenty, and, for this reason, were happy and quiet.

The causes which disturbed this enviable state, and which brought on a war of nearly seven years' duration, and of a kind that, from its civil character, and other circumstances peculiar to it, was to the last degree productive of misery and horror, arose from that constant subject of disagreement between governor and governed—taxation. Froissart, who, naturally both kind-hearted and luxurious, seems to be shocked beyond measure at the breaking out of disturbances which marred fatally so easy and plentiful a state of things, seems to be at a loss for a reason to account for a proceeding lacking wisdom to

such a degree. "Always," says the worthy historian, "he [the Count] had lived in great prosperity and peace, and had as much his pleasure as any other Christian prince had; but this was began for so light a cause and incident, that, justly to consider and speak, if good wit and sage advice had been in the land, he needed not to have had any manner of war. What shall they say that readeth this or heareth it read, but that it was the work of the devil? For ye know, or else ye have heard say of the wise sages, how the devil subtilly 'ticeth night and day to make war."

Froissart's narrative of the events, which immediately follows the above quotation, gives sufficient grounds for "they that readeth this, or heareth it read," very well to account for the origin of the war. His surprise is very natural, inasmuch as he looks no farther than to the mere circumstance which directly called forth the war,—not to the great principle out of which that circumstance itself arose. The principle was the resistance of the people to the excessive taxation imposed to furnish means for the magnificence of the luxurious Louis. The mere incident, which the reader will presently see, is both singular and paltry, but, of itself, never could have led to war. You may apply a match to a sack of flour, and no harm ensues; but let that sack contain gunpowder, what will the consequence be then? Nay, the simile may be carried farther; for when once fire or war begins, it reproduces causes for its own continu-

ance, till at last its very excess leaves it no further fuel.

There is, however, one thing in the passage I have quoted above, which gives me pleasure. I rejoice at finding in the Chronicles of my good friend, the Canon of Chimay, any unfavourable mention of war, in the mass, whatsoever. He sometimes shrinks from its detail; but the dazzle of the aggregate too often blinds him.

It seems, from all authorities, that there scarcely ever was a prince more devoted to expensive pleasures than this same Count Louis II. of Flanders. His tastes were luxurious and magnificent in every shape, and the expenses necessary for their indulgence were enormous. Thrice had the Flemings paid his debts, and still he needed more *. New taxes were the natural expedient; but the "members of Flanders" had (they were much before their age!) the right to grant or withhold taxes at their pleasure. The inhabitants of Bruges were bought over by permission being granted them "to turn the course of the river Lys †." Froissart expresses it—at all events, to dig a

* The reader will have already seen, in the sixteenth note to the preceding story, how liberal the Flemings were to their lords on anything like a proper occasion.

† Froissart also attributes this attempt of the men of Bruges to the influence of Satan. He says—"The devil, who never sleeps, put it into the heads of the men of Bruges to make a canal from the river Lys." The devil seems to have been a kind of scapegoat, to whom every nefarious attempt was attributable.—Ed.

canal connected with it, highly advantageous to Bruges, but prejudicial to Ghent. The Gantois, who were not likely to be propitiated by this, refused to increase the taxes altogether.

All this occasioned considerable irritation among the people; but there were other causes at work at the same time. There was a burgher of Ghent, named John Hyons, who was in the fullest and most intimate confidence of the Count: the trust on the one side, and the devotion on the other, had been carried to the extent of *blood!* Hyons slew a burgher of Ghent, with whom the Count was "displeased." It seems he picked a quarrel with this man for the purpose. There was a great outcry raised about this; Hyons fled to Douay, where he lived in great state at the Count's expense. A sentence of banishment for four years was passed against him by the tribunals of the town, and his property was all confiscated. The Count, however, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the measure, exerted his influence to bring Hyons back, which he effected, and had all his privileges restored to him. To recruit his wealth, the Count made him "chief ruler of all the ships, mariners, and navy." This was both a very powerful and very lucrative place; for it gave him a most extensive influence over a great mass of people, and was worth in money, as Froissart says, a thousand francs a year, "and yet to deal but truly."

This man Hyons had a private and personal enemy. He was one of seven brothers of the name of Mathew,

who were among the chief of all the mariners. This man, Gilbert * by Christian name, had a very deadly hatred against Hyons. Froissart states that he was withheld from causing him to be slain by his (Mathew's) brothers, only from fear of the Count. The chronicler adds, that there was a sort of clannish feud at the bottom of this enmity. Mathew and Hyons descended from the different lineages of some mariners, at a town called Deynse; and this, he says, caused the hatred of Mathew to be so bitter. The other, it seems, did not take the matter so deeply. At all events, the hatred did exist, and this mariner "studied day and night how he might put Hyons out of favour with the Count."

Gilbert Mathew is represented as a clever and subtle man, and certainly he conducted his plans with great skill against Hyons. He seized the moment when the Count was eager to impose new taxes, which the burghers refused. When the Count chanced to be at Ghent, he applied to one of his train, and laid before him a plan by which a heavy impost might be laid upon the vessels, which should be paid both by strangers and the mariners of Ghent; and that a large revenue might be derived from this, if John Hyons "will truly acquit himself." The courtier told this to the Count, who, caring for nothing but the immediate profit he was to derive †, entered into the plan warmly.

* This man, by some historians, is called Mathieu Ghisbert.

† The passage in which Froissart gives this is so peculiarly characteristic of his manner, that I am tempted to transcribe it:—"The Count then, in like wise as divers lords are inclined

Having heard the details from Mathew, he immediately sent for John Hyons, who, taken by surprise, heard for the first time of such a thing being suggested. The Count, who looked to nothing but the profits, saw no difficulties; but "John Hyons *, who was a true man, saw that it was not a thing reasonable to be done." It was necessary, it seems, that such a measure should be carried in " a parliament " of the mariners; and Hyons, not daring directly to refuse the Count, said he would lay the matter before them, announcing, at the same time, that he thought it was difficult.

Mathew then displayed great diplomatic skill: he explained to his six brothers that his real object was to get Hyons removed from his place, which, he said, he thought certain, if this measure were not carried; as also, that he should succeed to it. He, therefore, desired them not to mind what he said, but to oppose the impost stoutly. Once he was in the office, they might come round; and then, quoth he, "we are puissant enough in this town to rule all the residue." Everything turned out as he had planned it. The mariners would not pass an impost bearing heavily upon them, and against their old franchises and

naturally to hearken to their profit, and not regarding the end may fall thereby, so they may have riches, for covetousness deceiveth them,—he answered and said—Let Gilbert Mathew come to me, and we will hear what he will say."

* Lord Berners, in his translation, spells this name Lyon throughout; the foreign historians, however, write it Hions or Hyons.

liberties. Hyons, who seems to have discharged the duties of his office with honesty, was highly willing to receive this decision;—he reported it to the Count with commendation, which displeased him greatly, as the duty would bring in seven thousand florins yearly. Upon this Mathew comes forward, accuses Hyons of lukewarmness, and offers, if he be put into his place, to carry the measure through. The Count takes him at his word; and he ultimately, through the numbers and influence of his family, together with the help of the Count, carries the tax, to the sore annoyance of the mariners in general. But he did not stop here; he gives presents of jewels and other costly things to the courtiers, and (*proh pudor!*) to the Count himself, and thus confirms himself in his favour. These gifts Mathew extracted from the mariners, to their extreme discontent; but his power was such, that they dare not speak against him.

This occurrence, which seems trifling in itself, was the immediate origin of those awful wars of which I have spoken above. John Hyons devoted himself, with all the bitterness arising from ill-requited service, to revenge against the Count; and there were not wanting occasions of grievance for him to take advantage of, to work upon the people.

The first which occurred was the people of Bruges setting to work to dig their canal, to turn the river Lys. All the people of Ghent exclaimed that their town would be totally ruined; and their anger was

highly raised against the Count, for sending pioneers and men-at-arms to assist them in their labour. It was this which called the attention of the people to John Hyons, who had hitherto, since his dismissal, lived very retired, submitting quietly to everything—even to being defrauded, in his capacity of shipowner, out of the third or fourth part of the value of his profits, by the new syndic, his successor. "If," the people exclaimed, "John Hyons had still been our governor, it had not been thus; the people of Bruges had never been so hardy to attempt so far against us." It is probable Hyons had been using means to keep himself remembered by the people; for now every eye seems simultaneously to have turned upon him, and he at once answered the call. He affected, indeed, to be very unwilling to speak; but when he did, he comes to the very essence of the matter at once. He recommends a measure, the adoption of which certainly tended to keep up a warlike spirit among the Gantois, that, on many occasions, needlessly protracted the contests between them and their lords, during the next seventy or eighty years, to the great destruction of human life.

But I cannot subscribe to Froissart's right, of putting into this unhappy man's mouth, or rather mind, a resolution to something of the effect above stated; and I also cannot but consider that the measure of which I am about to speak might have occurred to any skilful popular leader, without having sprung from

any such diabolical motive as that attributed to Hyons by Froissart*.

That measure was the revival in Ghent of a brotherhood, anciently known there, called the "White-hoods,"—namely, a body of men clad in garments of this description, divided into bands, and commanded by officers, with one chief to rule the whole—in short, a civic militia. The idea spread through the city with the utmost rapidity; the burghers enlisted in multitudes, and John Hyons was elected chief governor of them all.

The immediate and nominal object of this armament was effected by its mere appearance. The very news of its approach drove the workmen from the

* Froissart's words are actually these:—"John Lyons was well advertised of all these matters: [the works, namely, of the people of Bruges, and the mariners' regrets for him:] then he began a little to wake, and said to himself, I have slept a season; but it shall appear that for a small occasion I shall wake, and shall set such a tremble between this town and the Count that it shall cost peradventure a hundred thousand men's lives." I grant that this may be a mere mode of expression, for a man who subsequently acted in such and such a manner must previously have had such and such reflections. But putting direct words into the man's mouth gives them a most unfair force: and, moreover, I cannot in any degree admit this prophetic foresight on the part of such a man as Hyons; or indeed, carried to this extent, of any man at all. Hyons, it is true, may have been partly influenced by personal motives against the Count; but I cannot doubt that the resistance of the Gantois to the Bruges canal would have equally arisen, if he had remained syndic of the mariners, or if he had never existed at all.

canal at Bruges, and they never dared to work on it again. But the White-hoods held together, and it was far beyond the power of the Count of Flanders to put them down.

It is not my purpose to go into the details of the troubles which now thickened and deepened with a fearful speed. Their duration is, indeed, a most lamentable period to consider;—the guilt, ferocious and bloody to the last degree, is balanced with awful equality. There is not, however, so much treachery on either side, as prevailed generally at the period. The Count of Flanders, indeed, did *not* commit a horrible murder, under circumstances which would have proved too strong a temptation for many of his contemporaries. A deputation came to the Count from Ghent to treat for peace; and whilst they were at the court, news arrived of the White-hoods having attacked, pillaged, and burned Louis's most favourite palace, and he felt it most severely; and sending for the deputies, to whom, as it happened, he had granted very favourable terms, upbraided them with the violence of their townsmen in the most bitter terms, and said, that nothing but his having granted them safe-conduct prevented his having their heads struck off. It may seem extraordinary to cite a mere abstinence from what would have been a very horrible slaughter—more especially as it was known that the deputies themselves were of far more moderate opinions than the people who had committed this out-

rage—with anything even approaching to commendation; but the reading, to a considerable extent, the detailed history of those times does really cause a favourable sensation to arise towards the Count for thus *not* committing a very dreadful crime.

The most dreadful crime in these wars—because the most cold-blooded, and upon victims the most manifestly innocent—was perpetrated by some of the Count's household; many said with his knowledge and approval, but, from all the circumstances of the case, I should very strongly think not, as far as regards the peculiar horrors. The fearful outrage, which the reader will see presently, was the more remarkable from having caused the renewal of the war between the towns and the Count, after a peace which was brought about by the intervention of the Duke of Burgundy, being the first time of his being engaged in Flemish affairs. The Count, it is true, never thoroughly relished this peace, inasmuch as it involved entire forgiveness of the Gantois, to which he never could bring himself. It is probable, therefore, that the peace, notwithstanding its apparently most amicable celebration, would not have been very lasting, yet it needed some such terrible deed as that I am about to narrate to work men's minds up to the pitch of a war of declared extermination.

In the previous war, an officer—called the bailiff—of the Count's, who had on a former occasion, on which the Gantois were in the right, betrayed the most absurd arrogance towards them, was sent with

two hundred men-at-arms into Ghent, to seize John Hyons, and other leaders of the White-hoods. But Hyons was on his guard—the officer found the White-hoods assembled, and lost his life at their hands. This was before the peace. After the peace had been made some time, and while it still continued, the cousin of this officer, by name Sir Oliver d'Auterne, sent his defiance to the town of Ghent for the death of his cousin—as did some other knights. They follow this up with stopping forty vessels on the Scheldt, belonging to burghers of Ghent, laden with corn, seizing the boatmen, and " hewing" them, and *putting out their eyes!* Thus they sent them, maimed and blinded, to Ghent ; and this piece of most exquisite cruelty and cowardice Froissart designates as a " despite, which they of Ghent took for a great injury." Truly, it is to be wondered at ! And then he seems to think it marvellous that Prunel, the then captain of the White-hoods*, should not take the opinion of " them of the law " before he sets off with a large force to pull down a portion of the walls of Oudenarde, which had always been a point keenly wished for by the Gantois, and which they had very reluctantly forborne from insisting upon at the conclusion of the peace. That this fortress would not be in strong con-

* Hyons had died towards the close of the preceding war. His death was sudden, and in the midst of a career of success. It was attributed to poison; but there seems no further ground for the imputation than the two circumstances just mentioned.

dition, and in possession of the Count, had always been a point to which the Gantois attached the highest importance, from the power of annoyance to Ghent which his holding so strong a place so near them threw into his hands. Therefore, in their first indignation at the atrocities committed by the Count's knights, they rushed to the readiest means of reducing a power so employed. And yet the Count insisted upon regarding this attack as pure aggression: the demolishing the walls and gates of a fortress, "under the shadow of peace," was such an act as to put the Gantois beyond all pale of mercy; whereas, the tearing out the eyes, and the smashing the limbs of human beings, was an act which they had no right to retaliate till they had complained of it to the Count! Such was the doctrine of Louis's commissaries! It would have been a profitable appeal, truly, to one who had allowed knights of his own household to send defiances to the Gantois in the middle of peace—for this made it next to certain that he knew they were going to commit acts of hostility, though there is no reason to suppose he was aware that they intended to ride about the country, putting out people's eyes. At all events, no shadow of blame is laid upon the perpetrators of *this* act, who were the first to break the existing peace; while, for the attack on Oudenarde, he declares to the Gantois that he will "one day take such cruel vengeance on them, that all the world shall speak thereof." Truly, this would have been an even-handed judge to whom to appeal.

This blinding and maiming the Gantois boatmen, under all the circumstances of the persons, the time, and *the fact*, appears to me, I confess, the most coldly and disgustingly atrocious act of these wars, steeped to the lips as they are in such proceedings on both sides. Its consequences certainly were the most awful of any, for it was, beyond question, the original cause of the war, without quarter, between the nobles and burghers, which soon after ensued. The immediate cause of that was a treacherous act of judicial murder, arising distinctly from this attack upon Oudenarde. Notwithstanding these violent threats to the Gantois, the Count so strongly desired to repossess himself of Oudenarde, that he was willing to continue the negotiations for the renewal of the peace. The higher burghers of Ghent strongly aided to this effect; and, at last, it was agreed that Oudenarde should be delivered to the Count,—that Prunel, the chief of the White-hoods, should be banished from Ghent,—and that the knights and lords who had mutilated the boatmen should be banished also.

These stipulations were carried into effect. Oudenarde was restored to the Count, who caused it to be fortified more strongly than ever; and Prunel left Flanders altogether, and retired into Brabant. Then Count Louis of Flanders gets his cousin the Duke of Brabant to give Prunel up into his hands—he takes him to Lisle, and there puts him to death upon the wheel!

Is it, then, to be much wondered at that the Gan-

tois should exclaim that their rulers were not worthy of trust—that they reproached themselves for having yielded to the banishment of Prunel, and thereby given opportunity for his murder—or that they should have resolved to league themselves against the Count, his lords, and knights, who had thus acted? I am the farthest in the world from desiring to extenuate the general demolition of the houses and strongholds of the gentlemen around, which was then effected by the Gantois, either on the ground (which was the argument they put forward) of self-protection from the power which these castles gave to their oppressors, or on that of retaliation for the murder of Prunel. I do not say one word in favour of such proceedings; but those who carried them into effect ought to have fair justice meted out to them, in weighing their guilt against that of their opponents. The historians of those days have, for the most part, been under the protection of the ruling powers; and though I do not accuse them of absolutely misrepresenting facts, there is a tone of leniency towards the noble, and of severity towards the burgher faction, which tends to produce a most unfair effect upon the reader's mind. For instance, Froissart, in a short summing-up of the relative merits of the parties up to about the date of which I am at present treating (1380), brings against the Flemings the death of the bailiff, not only without saying that he had come to seize the captain of the White-hoods, which was the immediate cause of it, but bringing into immediate opposition to it the fact

that a burgher of Ghent, who had, previously, been unlawfully detained in prison by this officer, had been given up by the Count's order. This occurrence was totally distinct from the disturbance in which D'Auterne lost his life; and in the course of it he had betrayed a spirit of such ridiculous arrogance as to the rights derived from birth, as to make him the last person who ought to have been sent into Ghent, supposing that it was right to send any one on such an errand. Again, Froissart mentions the death of some knights slain in a skirmish at Ypres, in a tone which would seem to represent it as something foreign from the ordinary occurrences of war—as also their besieging Oudenarde. He then adds, "And yet again they had of the Count peace [it might more fairly have been said, the Count had it of them]; but for all that, they would make none amends for the death of Roger d'Auterne, the which his lineage oftentimes desired; wherefore, they *somewhat revenged* the death of their cousin on certain mariners, by whom all this war and mischief was begun!" Truly, this is pleasing impartiality. The same writer, in his account of the conclusion of the peace then existing, states that "the Count [was] to pardon everything, and nothing to reserve without any exception or dissimulation." There is no exception here as to the death of Roger d'Auterne. How, then, could his relations have a right to "somewhat revenge" it by maiming and blinding poor working boatmen, whom, because they bear the generic term of mariners, Froissart wants to make active par-

ties in the war. But if they were, it would be no excuse. And this one item, thus amiably expressed, is *all* he brings against the Count and his party! I would wish no favour to be shewn: then, amid these constant horrors, there would, I think, be but little to choose between the parties—though it might be hard to find any individual crimes so bad as the business of the boatmen, and the execution of Prunel.

It is not my purpose to enter minutely into the wars which followed. I find that this retrospect of Flemish history has led me far more into detail than I anticipated, and I am loth to prolong a digression which, from henceforward, would be merely a narrative of the most unrelenting bloodshed. I must, however, to bring these events to an intelligible close, notice the siege of Ghent, which led to the attack of the Gantois upon Bruges, who thereby reached the summit of their power—the battle of Rosebeque, which reduced it to, perhaps, less than its former limits—and the final pacification after the Duke of Burgundy had succeeded on his father-in-law's decease.

The war continued with great variety of success, but with the most unvaried ferocity. The Count, whose usual residence in peaceful times was at Bruges, brought over a great proportion of the burghers of that town, and of some others, to his side. The Gantois, however, retained most of them. Still, matters went on but slowly; they had just lost two of their most celebrated leaders in an unsuccessful action,

and their spirits were much lowered. At this time (1381) one of the commanders of the White-hoods, by name Peter Dubois, who was always most adverse to submission, but who felt that he himself had not sufficient authority in the city to carry his views easily into effect, bethought him of one who had in no degree come forward in the troubles of the times, but whose name would in itself be a host if he could be prevailed upon to bestir himself. This was Philip d'Arteveldt, the sound of whose name carried to the mind both the memory of his father, and that father's power and greatness, for he was called Philip after Edward's celebrated queen, who was his godmother. The people of Ghent were wont, in their reverses, to exclaim "Ah, if Jacques d'Arteveldt were alive, matters would not go thus!" These reasons induced Peter Dubois to go to the son; and Froissart gives a most animated and dramatic account of their interview, which he states to have taken place at the house of D'Arteveldt's mother, in the evening. Pity 'tis that one cannot attach the most minute credence to this exceedingly characteristic dialogue, inasmuch as the question cannot but occur of "whence could the worthy Sir John have learned all this * ?"

* Froissart has made Du Bois to say to D'Arteveldt, "Can you, then, be right haughty and cruel? for one elevated from among the people, and especially for such works as ours, is nothing thought of unless he be feared and dreaded, and has the reputation of severity. Thus it is that the Flemings choose to be governed: among them you must think nothing of human

D'Arteveldt is represented as agreeing to the proposition, and, in point of fact, the next day he was proposed by Dubois as Chief Captain of Ghent, which was received with the greatest acclamations by the people. Their choice, undoubtedly, was fortunate; for, though he in some instances fell into the cruel spirit of the times, he was, upon the whole, probably one of the most forbearing, as well as most brilliant, commanders of the time. It is possible that, in the quiet life he had hitherto led, he may have thought much upon his father's seven years' government of Ghent—it may be said of Flanders—for now at once he appeared a man thoroughly capable of managing affairs, and particularly gifted with the powers of speech.

Shortly after, the Count laid, for the third time, siege to Ghent. This time the supplies were very scarce, for Louis induced the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Hainault to withhold the provisions, which had previously been furnished in great quantities by the people of their countries. The Liegeois would willingly have helped the Gantois, but their distance prevented their doing so effectually. Accordingly, after some very brilliant and successful sorties and foraging excursions, Ghent was reduced to a state of the most abject famine. The Count knew this, and would grant none but the severest terms. He exacted, indeed, that all the inhabitants of the

life, and have no more pity upon men than upon swallows and larks when they are caught for roasting."—Ed.

town of Ghent, from fifteen to sixty, should come barefooted, in their shirts, and with a rope about their necks, half way from Ghent to Bruges, and there submit themselves to the Count's mercy *(mercy!!)*. There is in Froissart a really very eloquent speech of D'Arteveldt's, addressed to the people of Ghent, upon this occasion, but it is too long for me to quote. He ends by saying that he is sure there are multitudes in the town who had not broken bread for days; and that there were only three things that could be done, of which they must choose one forthwith. The first was that they should enclose themselves in the town, wall up the gates, go into the churches and minsters, and there, having confessed their sins to God, await death like martyrs, to whom all mercy has been refused. The second was to go, men, women, and children, barefooted, and clad only in their shirts, and with ropes round their necks, to the Count at Bruges, as he had demanded. "I think," continued D'Arteveldt, "that his heart will not be so indurate as, when he seeth us in that estate, but that it will mollify, and take mercy of his people. And, as for myself, I will be the first of all to appease his displeasure—I shall present my head, and be content to die for them of Ghent." The third course which he pointed out, was for five or six thousand men, the flower of Ghent, to be chosen, and for them to go instantly and attack the Count at Bruges. He alludes to some of the victories recorded in Scripture, in which the Almighty had caused a few to prevail over many, and says that if they fail it will be an

honourable and valiant death, and if they succeed they shall be reputed the most exalted people since the Romans. He ends by asking them which of these three things they will choose. They beg his counsel, and, as may be supposed, he advises the attack on Bruges.

This attack proved one of the most extraordinary military exploits of the middle ages. The Gantois were to the number of five thousand, and no more. They took with them two hundred cars of ordnance and artillery. I conclude this species of arm was used to this extent by the Gantois, on this occasion, from their having it at hand on their walls, and from their consciousness of their extreme inferiority of numbers. At all events, it is a very remarkable circumstance, for certainly artillery did not come into general use, in ordinary warfare, till a much later period. It might be, indeed, that they purposed to make a *coup-de-main* upon Bruges: if they originally purposed to bring the attack upon themselves, in the manner in which it eventually took place, it bespeaks a coolness and calculation which, under such circumstances of desperation, speaks most highly for their leaders.

On the second evening after their leaving Ghent, they took up their position within a few miles of Bruges. On the following morning D'Arteveldt caused the ecclesiastics, of whom there were several with the army, to perform mass in several places; and every man confessed, "and prayed to God for grace and

mercy." There seems, indeed, to have been a strong spirit of direct trust in heaven throughout the whole of this remarkable expedition. On this morning the friars preached to the people, reminding them how the Lord had delivered the Israelites from Pharaoh, and comparing the Count's oppression to that of the Egyptian King. They also reminded them of many instances, both in Scriptural and profane history, of a few having prevailed over many; and altogether inspired them with confidence in their cause, and trust in God.

D'Arteveldt afterwards addressed the whole army, and certainly with great skill and ability. He represented to them the miserable and abject condition of Ghent—that "they had left nothing behind them but poverty and heaviness"—and that their only hope was in victory. He then had equally shared among them the little bread and wine which they had brought from Ghent, and which had been reserved till now, they having on their march lived on what they could pick up. After they had eaten and drunk, the Gantois formed themselves into the order of the battle they had chosen, refreshed in spirit and in frame.

Painful as is the contemplation of almost every scene throughout these wars, there is yet, I think, something counterbalancing in this one instance. The Gantois were here reduced to the extremity of despair. The Count of Flanders, taking advantage of their sufferings from famine, and their hopelessness of any relief, had demanded an unqualified submission, which,

in other words, was announcing his resolution to enforce a terrible and sanguinary vengeance. But these men, surrounded by every circumstance, both physical and moral, likely to cause them to sink, determine upon a resistance so desperate, that it might well, to use a military phrase of our own days, be considered a "forlorn hope" indeed. And the spirit in which they entered upon their expedition, and went through with it, really gives the mental vision one green spot to rest upon in the midst of the deluge of blood which overspreads the annals of those times. They appear to have considered themselves upon almost a sacred mission—they looked, as it would seem, to especial Divine protection, and thus their minds were wrought to a condition, oh! how superior to the mingled cupidity and ferocity with which they usually went into battle! Philip d'Arteveldt, notwithstanding his not being free from the crimes common to the age, was undoubtedly a man of far nobler, and also, it would seem, more amiable, mind than any of those who figured on the same stage.

The Gantois formed themselves into a defensive order of battle. They had a species of pike described by Froissart as "high stakes, bound with iron, and sharp pointed;" and he adds that they always carried these weapons with them in their wars. They, in this instance, stuck one end of these halberts (if I may so call them) into the ground, so as to form a formidable protection to them behind. They had also their artillery before them. They were thus found by three

esquires, who had been sent by the Count to reconnoitre them, on his hearing of their approach. The esquires reported that there were not above five or six thousand. The Count, who seemed to think that the Gantois, in their madness, had thrown themselves into his hands, determined upon attacking them at once, and thereby putting an end to the war at a blow. The people of Bruges were, at this time, as I have said, in alliance with the Count; and he had a large force with him besides. Accordingly, in a short time, forty thousand men were assembled under their respective banners ready to march.

They set forth towards the Gantois, and by the time they arrived there it was past noon, and the sun had begun to decline. It appears that some of the Count's followers advised him to wait till the next day, saying that these people, who were but a handful as compared with his army, had no provisions,—that they would be weak by the next day, and would almost yield without fighting. The Count inclined to the same opinion, but the people of Bruges were so hot and hasty to fight that they would not abide, but cried out "Set on!"—and they began to fire upon the Gantois. These last stood firm; and then, at the same instant, fired three hundred cannon at once; and, at the same time, they wheeled round a pool of water which was close to their position, by which movement they threw the setting sun into their enemies' eyes. They then charged, with shouts of "Ghent! Ghent!" and the people of Bruges, stricken with fear, threw down their

weapons and ran. The Gantois pursued them at once, crying out "Follow, follow—our enemies are discomfited—let us go into Bruges with them!".

There are many uncourteous epithets applied to the courage of them of Bruges for their so speedily abandoning the field; but I cannot but think they would be quite as deservedly applied to that of the Count's regular army; for they struck no blow at all—but, upon seeing the burghers fly, fled too, and away from Bruges, not liking to mingle in the crowd of the pursued and pursuing. The shouts of "Ghent! Ghent!" and the cries of the wounded and of the flying caused that "the most part of the men-at-arms would not put themselves into that peril." In truth, it was one of those sudden and unaccountable panics of which there are several instances in history; but it seems to me to apply to one part of the army as well as the other. Froissart uses, with reference to the regular troops, the term, "they fled away, every man to save himself."

The Count, however, returned to Brûges: seeing that every man fled, and that it was dark night, he took the advice of those about him to speed to Bruges to shut the gates before the Gantois could enter. He arrived at the gates among the first, with his banner, and about forty followers. He immediately placed a guard at the gate to admit the fugitives, and keep out the Gantois, and went to his house to send out to assemble "every man on pain of death," at the market-place, to preserve the town. But the Gantois rushed in with those who fled, and forthwith formed themselves

in array in the market-place. The Count, who was coming with many lights towards the rendezvous, was dissuaded from proceeding—the town, they told him, was entirely in the hands of the Gantois—they had possession of all the gates, and were everywhere seeking him. Philip d'Arteveldt had given the strictest orders that no one should injure the Count, but that he should be secured by whoever met him. It was natural that he should desire to possess himself of the Count's person, as such an hostage would, of course, have extreme influence on the treaty of peace. Still it was not always, in those days, that those who took towns were so considerate.

I wish I could give the whole account of this night's proceedings in Bruges from Froissart—few narratives are more vivid, dramatic, and picturesque. But it would be extending this part of the present notice to a length immoderately out of proportion. The Count went into a back lane, got one of his valets to unarm him, put on the man's old cloak, and wandered forth into the darkest streets. He was saved by a poor woman into whose house he entered, and who hid him between the mattress and the straw on which her children lay. He had been seen come into the house, and some of the Gantois entered immediately after, but the woman persuaded them it had been herself they had seen, and they, looking round, and finding no place of hiding, left the house.

The Count did not finally escape from Bruges till the next night, when he got into the country, and

wandered about the fields all night. At length, the next day, he fell in with one of his knights, who, after great difficulty, procured him a horse, and they arrived safely at Lisle.

That Bruges, during the night after the entry of the Gantois, underwent many of the horrors of a town taken by an enemy, there can be no doubt. Those who had taken strong part with the Count against the common cause of the people of Flanders, suffered considerably; but as soon as Philip d'Arteveldt and his captains had time to look around them, they took strict measures to prevent the continuance of pillage and bloodshed. Froissart, whose authority *in favour* of the Gantois is unquestionable, says that "there never were people that did with their enemies as they of Ghent did with them of Bruges." D'Arteveldt issued orders that every man (of his troops), on pain of death, should come to his quarters, and not rob or pillage, or interfere with any one, without they were commanded. Above all, he enforced a rule which seems to have been generally prevalent among the Flemings in these wars, viz. giving the most perfect security to the foreign merchants, who formed a large and most important body in each of the great towns. In sending supplies to their famishing friends at Ghent, they derived them chiefly from Dam and Sluys, and all was "bought and paid for."

The consequences of this victory were of an extent nothing short of marvellous. From being starving wretches, almost doubting whether they should not

prostrate themselves before the Count, to be stricken to death at his pleasure, they were now, in a period wonderfully short, lords of all Flanders. Every city and town sent in an alliance approaching to subjection. The one blow of thus taking possession of Bruges, driving out the Count, and dispersing his army, naturally called forward all those—and they were always the great majority—who sided with the general cause of the liberties and privileges of the good towns of Flanders; and those who might have inclinations the other way were awed, by this sudden blaze of success, into acquiescence.

There was one great omission, however, on the part of Philip d'Arteveldt, which had considerable effect upon the future fortunes of the war. The town of Oudenarde, of which we have heard so much, being well fortified, and near Ghent, was always a thorn in the side of the Gantois. They had constantly attacked and sometimes carried it. Such was the panic which the fall of Bruges had occasioned, that Oudenarde would have surrendered at once, if summoned without delay, but assistance was suffered to enter the town, and it occasioned the chief siege that followed.

It was the general union of all Flanders that caused it to be believed that they meant to put down all knighthood and nobility; and there can be no doubt that it was their purpose to establish recognised franchises that should place them free from the possibility of oppression. The joy of the people in all parts of Europe at the success of the Flemings still more con-

tributed to alarm the higher orders*. It never, as has been hastily represented, involved the *existence* of knighthood and nobility throughout Europe, but their power in some parts of it was certainly in danger.

I shall now at once proceed to the circumstances which led to the battle of Rosebeque, premising only that D'Arteveldt, in the meantime, reigned in high pomp and power over all Flanders, and that Oudenarde still held out.

The Count of Flanders, having no hope without assistance from abroad, applied to his powerful son-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke, at this time, shared with his brother the Duke of Berri the regency of France. They were consulting together on the subject,—the Duke of Berri, being less personally interested, throwing out doubts as to the prudence of granting the Count's request,—as, if they failed, they should be blamed for hurrying France into a war in which she had no concern—when the King, then quite a boy, came into the room. He asked them whether he might know what they were discussing. They told him, and asked him whether he were willing to assist his cousin of Flanders in reconquering his country from his rebellious subjects. "By my faith,

* There is a striking coincidence between the effects of this brave feat of arms of the Gantois, and those produced upon Europe by the late revolution in France, or rather by the gallant manner in which it was achieved by the Parisians. In 1380 the establishments of knighthood and nobility trembled for their existence; in 1830, every crowned head has thought it necessary to look to the security of their thrones.—Ed.

yes!" answered the young King, "I long to begin my career of arms, and I would willingly set off to-morrow."

From this moment the Flemings had the formidable force of France against them. They endeavoured to appease the King, but their letters were laughed at, and their messengers insulted. They next endeavoured to negotiate with England, but they very unskilfully began by asking for the payment of 100,000 florins, which Edward III. had borrowed from Flanders forty years before. This was not the most propitious opening of a negotiation, and accordingly it failed. The council of the French King meanwhile grew alarmed at the Flemings treating with England, and sent to treat with D'Arteveldt. But this led only to further irritation, inasmuch as D'Arteveldt repaid the insults which before had been heaped upon his envoys. He declared that he never would treat till Oudenarde had surrendered; and that he should insist, as a preliminary, that there should not be a fortress or fortified town in Flanders—the bad faith of the Count rendering, as he alleged, such guarantees indispensable.

From this time the preparations for war went on with the greatest activity on both sides. The French council called upon all the allies of France, who came with great readiness—the Duke of Burgundy strained all his resources to the utmost—altogether a most numerous and gallant army was collected. The great difficulty in the way of the invaders was to enter Flanders at all. The Flemings established an admirable

line of defence along the Lys, which, with the Scheldt and the sea, almost insulates the whole country, the remainder being commanded by Calais and its territory, which were in the possession of the English; who, though they had not entered into an offensive alliance with the Flemings, always far preferred them to the French, whom, in any case, they certainly would not suffer to enter upon the territory of Calais.

The French army, with the Constable de Clisson as its virtual commander, was exceedingly puzzled how to get into Flanders. It was in the month of November (1382); and the soil, which was swampy, was rendered doubly so by the season being extremely rainy. It was found to be almost impossible to cross the Lys; and a proposal of the Sire de Coucy to take a very circuitous route by the Scheldt was reckoned inadvisable from the time it would occupy, which not only would encourage the enemy by the appearance of retiring from them, but would enable them, perhaps, to gain assistance from England, and, at all events, to extend their alliances among the discontented towns even of France. The spirit of resistance was undoubtedly spreading fast, and everything combined to make the French leaders wish to bring the war to a speedy decision.

The first operations were in favour of the Flemings. A company of knights had contrived to get across the Lys, just before the destruction of the bridges. These were cut down behind them, and scarcely one of them escaped. The next attempt, though almost as rash,

had very different results. Some Breton knights, who throughout this campaign seem to have been equally brave, rapacious, and cruel—contrived, with three boats, used after the manner of flying bridges, to pass over with about four hundred men, at a spot some little distance above Comines, where the banks of the river were wooded, and where the Flemings did not keep guard. The Constable de Clisson heard of the attempt, and sent the Maréchal de Sancerre to see if it were feasible, and act accordingly. The Maréchal dreaded that the people of Comines should see them before they had passed in any number, for the boats held only nine persons each. But the Sire de Saimpey, a knight of Hainault, who knew the country, persuaded him to allow the attempt. They hid in the wood as they landed, till at last they marched off towards Comines, where Peter Dubois commanded a large and well-organized body of Flemings.

When the Constable, who was immediately opposite Comines, beheld the French troops approach, he was in despair! He had no sort of doubt that they would have been annihilated. He felt that much blame would be attributed to him, and he lamented bitterly the imprudence of Sancerre. He desired, however, that every one should assist in putting the broken bridge of Comines into a passable condition, that he might go over and assist them.

Peter Dubois did not attack the French, who had previously passed, till the morning, when he met with a complete defeat. The long lances of the French

were of the greatest advantage to them, in receiving the charge of the Flemings; and, unfortunately for the latter, Peter Dubois was wounded at the onset so severely, that it was necessary to remove him. There was also a female soothsayer, who had prophesied that if she drew first blood from the French, the victory would be theirs, who was killed at the onset, which contributed to spread a panic among the Flemings. Suffice it, their rout was total—Comines was taken, the inhabitants were put to death, and the town pillaged.

Meanwhile, the Constable had repaired the bridge, and come over in force. This success gave the French the command of the passes of the Lys, and they entered Flanders generally. The taking of Comines had tended very much to dishearten the Flemings; and several towns, including Ypres, made composition with the king, or rather with his uncles: for it seems that the poor Count of Flanders, for whom nominally the war was undertaken, was not admitted into council, or made privy to any of the negotiations with these his own towns. All the ransoms were paid to the king direct, to whom the towns appealed as to the suzerain, without taking the least notice of the immediate lord. There seems, indeed, to have been great indignity passed upon him; for partly, it is said, from doubt, but chiefly, as it would seem, from scorn, it was announced that none of his followers, who were all Flemings, should speak Flemish under pain of death!

A considerable portion of Flanders being thus gained by the French, D'Arteveldt collected all his forces to oppose them. It has been urged, that it would have been more prudent to have suffered the winter and the severity of the campaign in all respects to have worn away the French forces by degrees; but, on the other hand, it may be said that this very continuance in the heart of Flanders, unmolested, might have decided the vacillating minds of the burghers of those towns which still remained true to Ghent.

The two armies met near Rosebeque, between Ypres and Courtray; they were both in great numbers, amounting to between fifty and sixty thousand men. D'Arteveldt was in high hope and confidence, and doubted not to rout the French army now, as he had that of the Count of Flanders at Bruges. He determined, also, to do so in the same manner, for he caused all his forces to be drawn up in one close mass; and they had orders when they charged to interlace their arms, that the enemy might not be able to penetrate among them.

It was just at sunrise that the armies were drawn out. The Duke of Burgundy, before they engaged, sent a herald to propose to the Flemings to submit themselves to the mercy of their lord, and to furnish a half year's pay to the French army. It is said that he did this with a view of sparing the blood of his future subjects; but it appears to me that it could not be more than a mere matter of form; for it was out of the question to suppose that a large and gallant army

could assent to such degrading conditions. Their answer was, that they insisted upon their privileges, and the support of their ancient charters, without which they would not listen to anything; and on this ground they appealed to the justice of God.

The charge of the Flemings was made with great vehemence—they rushed down the hill with a force which, at first, caused the division in which the young King was placed to recoil. But the Constable de Clisson, seeing the mode of attack the Flemings were about to adopt, had made arrangements to enclose them; and, accordingly, when they were advancing in continuation of their charge, they were attacked on both flanks, in a manner which speedily routed them. Philip D'Arteveldt fell one of the first; and the slaughter was tremendous.

This battle was fought on the 29th of November, 1382, and it undoubtedly destroyed that extraordinary power which, since the taking of Bruges, the Flemish citizens had held. It did not, however, reduce it below what it had used to be; for, not only did this war continue for three years longer, but we shall find both Bruges and Ghent making the same head against their Count, in the next century, as we have seen in this.

I shall not go into the details of the transactions of the rest of the war. The conduct of the French to the Count of Flanders, with reference to Courtray, appears to me to be of a degree of indignity which it is astonishing that the Duke of Burgundy could have

allowed. Because, eighty years before, a French army had been defeated there, the present one insisted upon taking vengeance upon the town; and, on the Count remonstrating, the King upbraided him with having been formerly allied with the English, and said that he should do his pleasure with the town of Courtray—this pleasure was to have it burned, and the inhabitants carried away in servitude, that they might be redeemed by ransom!

The fears of the King of France, that the spirit by which the Flemings had been actuated might influence his own subjects, were not without foundation; and having wreaked his vengeance upon Courtray, and, by his last victory, having apparently secured tranquillity, at least for a time, in Flanders, he hastened with his army to Paris, accompanied by the Duke of Burgundy. The manner in which he was met by the Parisians—the punishments and executions which he caused to take place among them—the taxes he levied—and the exaction of money from the drained pockets of his people, to defray the expense of his late armament, are not the subject of the present memoir. But the challenge of the English Lord of Courtray to fight the Sire de la Tremouille, for a reward offered by the King of England to any Englishman who should be victorious in an encounter with a French knight, is so illustrative of the spirit of those times, as well as of that temper which has for so many ages actuated the two nations, that I cannot help mentioning it, and recording the answer of De la Tre-

mouille, when told that he had no quarrel with the Lord of Courtray, and had no reason to fight with him. "*Il est Anglois et je suis Français,*" said he. How many lives have since been sacrificed, how much blood been shed, and how many have been rendered widows and orphans through the pernicious influence of this feeling! The Duke of Burgundy prevented this fight from proceeding to extremities, in consequence of which the Lord of Courtray boasted of its result as of a victory. On this he was challenged by the Sire de Clacy, by whom he was vanquished, so much to the dissatisfaction of the Duke of Burgundy, who considered this a stain upon the honour of De la Tremouille, that he even asked of the King the condemnation of the victor.

A very short time had elapsed before the Gantois again put themselves in active opposition to the Count. Alliances were secretly proposed with England; and the English merchants at Bruges, through whom the negotiations were supposed to be carried on, were seized and made prisoners. Flanders was now, however, to become the seat of war from other causes than the struggles of the Gantois for their chartered privileges. Urban VI., enraged that the French supported Clement VII. as Pope at Avignon, in opposition to his own election at Rome, preached in England a crusade against the Clementists of France. He soon found, however, that English troops were not to be levied merely by the promises of religious indulgences, or even by positive absolutions. Money

was the only temptation that could be held out with any hope of success, and with this sinew of war Henry Spenser, Bishop of Norwich, raised an army of two thousand lancers and ten thousand archers, and, changing his crozier into a spear, crossed over to Calais. From Calais he made hostile incursions into Flanders, in spite of the representations of Sir Hugh Calverley, and other knights by whom he was accompanied, that the Flemings were Urbanists. "No matter," said this warlike minister of peace, "the towns are garrisoned by the French, and *they* are our enemies." And he accordingly overran the country, taking, pillaging, and destroying the towns of a land, the inhabitants of which were of the same sentiments as those for which he was fighting. Surprised at this conduct on the part of the English, the bastard son of the Count of Flanders raised an army to stop the progress of their arms, and marched to meet them in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. The bishop was inclined to fall upon them at once; but the more civilized knights in his train were shocked at this want of etiquette, and insisted upon the observance of the usual custom of sending a herald to summon them to surrender, or to give them the customary defiance. The Flemings, however, like the bishop, being more accustomed to the rudeness than to the politeness of war, killed the herald, and thus gave the signal for that attack which speedily defeated them; and their defeat was immediately followed by the taking of Dunkirk, into which place they were followed by the victors.

The bishop's progress was now so alarming, and his success so rapidly increasing his power in the country, that the Flemings again had recourse to the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, who answered their appeal by sending troops into Flanders. Still, however, place after place fell into the hands of the English, till the Duke was obliged to make it a national affair with France, and to engage that nation in the quarrel.

Charles again took up warmly what he considered the cause of his uncle of Burgundy, and a large army was speedily raised. Lancers and archers from every province that owned Charles, either as a sovereign or an ally, poured in, till the army consisted of twenty-six thousand lancers, among which might be mentioned the *élite* of the chivalry of the age. Every step was taken by the Duke of Burgundy to give effect to this armament, and to strike terror into the English by its equipment and extent. A contract was made with Boulard, a merchant of Paris, for the supply of corn for one hundred thousand men, for four months; the first commissariat contract upon record. On the entry of this army into Flanders, the English immediately raised the siege of Ypres, and retired into Bergue, which they again quitted on the approach of the French, by whom this unfortunate town was pillaged and the inhabitants massacred, and were thus condemned to suffer as much by their defenders as by their enemies.

During this period Aterman, at the head of a few

Gantois, surprised Oudenarde, and obtained possession of this strongly-fortified place, which had so often been contended for by both parties, and which was considered such a desideratum by the people of Ghent. This information caused much terror to the Duke of Burgundy, and greatly facilitated the treaty with the English, who were at length allowed to quit Flanders, much to the anger of the Bretons, who had hoped to enrich themselves by the plunder arising from their defeat. To make up for this disappointment, they pillaged Bourbourg, and were only prevented from committing the most horrible excesses by what they deemed the miraculous movement of a statue of the Virgin, the head of which was seen to shake with anger on some Bretons attempting to despoil it of the jewels by which it was ornamented.

Charles now disbanded his army and returned to France; but the Duke of Burgundy remained to assist in the restoration of the places destroyed by the war. In the meantime, a kind of congress was held between Calais and Boulogne, in which a treaty of peace was proposed and discussed, but abandoned, because the English would not give up their possessions in France. A truce for one year was, therefore, at length concluded upon, each party retaining all that they already possessed; and in this truce Ghent was included, in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Count of Flanders to the contrary.

During the progress of this negotiation, the Count of Flanders was treated with such indignity by the

Duke of Berri, by reason, it is said, of some ancient grudge, that, overcome by this as well as by the mortification he experienced at the Gantois being allowed to retain possession of Oudenarde and Gravelines, he retired to one of his castles, and died of sorrow on the 20th of January, 1384.

The Duke of Burgundy now succeeded to the countries of Flanders, Artois, Rhetel, Nevers, and to several other smaller lordships, &c., of which he took formal possession in the May succeeding the demise of the Count. This was an accession of power to the Duke that rendered his dominions, in extent, little short of those of France. His succession, however, did not alter the opinion, or lessen the opposition, of the Gantois, who beginning immediately to form alliances against him with the towns of Bruges and Ypres, compelled the Duke to make preparations for continuing the war against his new subjects.

During this period the Sire d'Escournay, a Flemish knight, assisted by Jaques de la Tremouille and others, surprised Oudenarde, and retook it from the Gantois. These made a remonstrance to the Duke, and demanded its restoration, as it had been taken from them during an acknowledged truce. The Duke of Burgundy accordingly wrote to the Sire d'Escournay, who states, as his reason for the taking of Oudenarde, that the Gantois had ravaged his lands and pillaged his castle, and therefore that it was a private quarrel which had induced him to take up arms.

Greatly as this succession to the estates of Flanders

had added to the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, he had still expectations of new accession to his power on the death of the Duchess Dowager of Brabant, to whom the Duchess of Burgundy was the heiress. The Dowager, anxious for the welfare of her successors, projected marriages between the children of the Duke of Burgundy and those of Albert of Bavaria, heir of Hainault, and, with a truly Machiavelian policy, succeeded in the accomplishment of her projects, although one of the parties was intended as the husband of a sister of the King of France, and another actually affianced to Leopold of Austria; and in spite of all the arts of the Duke of Lancaster to procure an alliance between the heir to Albert and his daughter. The Comte de Nevers, the eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, was accordingly married to Margaret of Bavaria; at the same time that his daughter, Margaret of Burgundy, was united to William of Bavaria.

The Duke of Burgundy's present power and future prospects were greatly increased, while his influence in the court and over the young King of France made him likewise one of the most powerful persons in that kingdom.

In the preservation of this influence he promoted a marriage between Charles and Isabella, daughter of Etienne the Duke of Bavaria. This marriage was first proposed by the Duke of Burgundy to Frederic of Bavaria when he joined the French army at the head of his brother's troops; and the wish for its accomplishment is supposed to have originated in his plea-

sure at the readiness evinced by the Duke of Bavaria to assist the French in the war in Flanders. There was, however, much difficulty at first in bringing about this union, until the Dowager Duchess of Brabant, who had already been so successful in her match-making, undertook the affair. The young princess was accordingly sent on a pretended pilgrimage to Amiens; but first paying a visit to the Dowager, she was there taught the best method of attracting the admiration of the King; and for this purpose her wardrobe was replenished with dresses of a gayer fashion than were known or made in Germany. This Duchess seems to have been quite an adept in the art of making up marriages, for, speaking of this visit of the young princess, the French chronicler says, "Elle la doctrina bien;" and, indeed, so well was she instructed in the art of pleasing, that from the moment Charles saw her he became impatient until the marriage was completed, which it was, to the great joy of the Duke of Burgundy, in July, 1385.

The Duke now proposed a descent upon England, doubtless influenced by his resentment at the assistance which that country had rendered his rebellious towns in Flanders. His project was embraced with avidity by Charles; great preparations were immediately made; a part of the armament proceeded to Scotland; and the Duke of Burgundy prepared to follow.

In the meantime Jean de Jumont, whom the Duke had made his grand bailiff in Flanders, pursued the war with the Gantois with the utmost inveteracy, did

all the mischief he could, and mutilated his prisoners in a horrible manner.

Aterman, enraged at this, attempted to surprise Ardembourg, without success; but assaulted and took Dam; at which the Duke was so much grieved, that he swore that he would not go to England till he had reduced his rebellious Flemings to obedience.

He accordingly laid siege to Dam, and compelled Aterman to fly, and pursued the war so actively, that the whole country was ravaged, and scarcely a house, or even monastery, left standing.

At length the Gantois became tired of a war which destroyed their commerce, drained them of their present wealth, and prevented them from obtaining more. Their ships, which had been in the habit of supplying the ports of seventeen kingdoms with the production of their industry, could not now move a league without the fear of being taken. All the respectable merchants felt and regretted this, and sighed for that peace which could alone restore their commercial prosperity.

These sentiments were gradually gaining ground among all classes of people, while the war was only continued through the influence of a few, the principal of whom was Peter Dubois, in whose presence none dared breathe of peace or treaty. At length, Roger Everwin, a merchant, and Jacques Evertbourg, principal of the company of butchers, determined upon attempting to obtain a peace,—and the names of such men are far more worthy of record than those who are celebrated only for deeds of arms. With this

view, they sounded their fellow-citizens, and finding the major part of them of the same opinion with themselves, Everwin, under the pretence of making a pilgrimage, proceeded to Paris, and obtained an interview with the Duke, who promised a free pardon for the past, and indemnity for the future.

On his return they applied to John de Heylle, who had been long noted as living without intermeddling in any way in public affairs, and he continued the negotiation with the Duke. After a little time, Aterman himself joined them in their attempts to procure peace. They accordingly determined, on a certain day, to assemble in the market-place, hoist the standard of Flanders, and proclaim peace with the Duke. Dubois had by this time discovered the plot, and, in conjunction with the English Governor, resolved to proclaim the King of England, but was prevented by the other party being an hour beforehand with them, so that, when Dubois and his friends entered the place of meeting, they found the majority of the citizens ranged on the other side.

A deputation to the Duke was immediately determined upon; but the citizens who composed it were so proud and stubborn that they refused to ask pardon, and the treaty would have been broken off, had it not been for the Duchess of Brabant and Burgundy and the Countess of Nevers, who, on their knees, solicited the Duke pardon for his rebellious subjects. A treaty was then concluded between the Duke and his people, whereby their privileges were secured to

them, and their fealty and vassalage to the Duke acknowledged.

Dubois proceeded to England with the fortune which he had amassed. Aterman remained in Ghent, where he was soon after murdered by the son of one whose death, it is said, he had occasioned during the war; and thus, for a time, a period was put to those troubles which had so much interfered with the other projects of the Duke in France.

When Charles VI. arrived at the age of twenty, he informed his uncles, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, that henceforward he would govern the kingdom himself. The two Dukes were very unwilling to resign a power which enabled them so easily to prosecute their individual purposes; but, for the time, they were obliged to submit. The young King, who afterwards became so unfortunate, was at that time a prince of exceeding promise. His faults were the faults of his time—his good qualities were his own. He saw the true interests of his country, and he followed them. The increase of their own wealth, and their personal aggrandizement, were the objects of his uncles: those of Charles were the advantage and prosperity of France.

He took into his confidence men of distinguished merit—of energy, capacity, and zeal. The constable, De Clisson, — a person of eminent courage and talents,—possessed great influence with him; but the intrigues of the King's uncles were always employed to thwart his schemes, however indisputably calcu-

lated to advance the general cause. The Duke of Berri is, indeed, distinctly accused, by the contemporary historians, of receiving bribes from England, to prevent the descent in that country, prepared at the port of Sluys. The backwardness and the lukewarmness of this prince did effectually defeat the project which had been formed at immense expense, with much deliberation and skill, and which had, from the absence of the flower of the English army in Portugal with John of Gaunt, and the weakness of the government of Richard II., every prospect of being attended with great success.

The Constable continued to be the object of the hatred of the princes of the blood. He was attacked, on the night of the 13th of June, 1392, by Peter de Craon, at the head of a band of assassins, in the streets of Paris. De Clisson, falling from his horse, was supposed to be killed, and was left upon the spot. He was, however, only wounded, and recovered. Craon took refuge at the Court of the Duke of Britanny*. The King reclaimed the assassin as a state criminal. The Duke returned for answer, that Craon was no longer in his dominions. Charles, knowing this to be an evasion, determined to compel his delivery by force. He put his army on its march, and summoned his uncles, with their contingents. They, who were always supposed to have an understanding with

* The same who had kidnapped De Clisson. See Notice of Froissart, Vol. II.

the Duke of Britanny, obeyed; but with open murmuring and reluctance.

It was on this occasion that the unhappy Charles VI. was struck with that frenzy, which, for the rest of his life, left him only brief and shadowy intervals of reason. Many causes are assigned for this terrible event. It is attributed by some to a poisonous draught administered by means of the King's uncles; by others to a *coup de soleil* in the plain of Mons, where the army was exposed to extreme heat on its march; by others again, wholly to constitutional causes. It is impossible, at this distance of time, and amidst the conflicting opinions of contemporaries, to come to a satisfactory conclusion on this point. It is certain, however, that the effects of the King's incapacity upon his country were miserable to the last degree. The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy again seized upon the government — the ministers of the King were banished and persecuted, the Constable among the rest; a truce of twenty-eight years was concluded with England; and, at the intercession (which it is natural to suppose was solicited) of Richard II., the assassin Craon was recalled to Court.

And now commenced that awful contest of the factions of Burgundy and Orleans (afterwards called of Armagnac), which so long deluged France in blood, and delivered it to such an accumulation of distress, misery, and terror. The Duke of Orleans, being nearer to the throne than his uncles, was naturally offended at the government being vested in their

hands, and used his endeavours to supersede them in its possession. During the glimmering intervals of reason of this unhappy Charles, the latter approved his brother's measures; but, on every occasion of relapse, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy again established their pretensions.

The Duke of Orleans was a prince of dissolute life, it is true, but he was by no means of the sanguinary disposition which was evinced by the opposite party; and, in public matters, displayed principles of considerable rectitude and honour. He appears, also, to have shared his brother's anxiety for the interest and glory of France, and to have joined patriotic feelings of indignation to personal motives of ambition, in his contests with the House of Burgundy.

The Duke of Berri, from this time forward, figures but little in history, being overshadowed by the superior power of his brother; and, afterwards, in addition to the same superiority, the greater vigour, and more determined atrocity of his nephew. He seems to have been chiefly distinguishable for extreme rapacity.

Philip of Burgundy, to a stern and harsh temperament, united strong feelings of ambition and a desire to consolidate and augment the great power of which he was founder. To effect this, it was his policy to make the French King feel the importance of his aid in the English wars; and thence to be forbearing towards him with reference to his feudal superiority. In swaying the government of France, he found ample means to make his authority as regent subservient to

his interests as a separate potentate. His age; the consideration which he had enjoyed under the two last kings; the length of time he had governed the kingdom during his nephew's minority—together with his immediate connexion with the blood of France—gave him pretensions which his son could not possess. Accordingly, we find no very violent out-breaks of the Duke of Orleans against his uncle; but, after his death, he was by no means inclined to show the same consideration towards his cousin, the new Duke.

John, Count of Nevers, succeeded his father on the 17th of April, 1404. We have seen him in the most, indeed the only, advantageous light in which he appears in history; namely, in the expedition against Bajazet, in which, as a very young man, he had taken a prominent part. His personal bravery had there shone conspicuous; and there was no opportunity for the display of the darker qualities of his character. These were many and extreme. The ferocity and treachery which I have said to be the general characteristics of these ages, were singularly embodied in the person of this prince. From his first appearance at the Court of France, after his father's death, his turbulence, his intrigues, his dark and envious disposition, began to show themselves. From this period the factions of Burgundy and Armagnac created divisions in the Court, which shortly afterwards extended to the whole nation.

It is clear that John inherited none of the claims to rule in France which his father possessed. He was

considerably more remote from the source of the blood-royal, being only cousin-germain to the King; and he possessed neither the experience nor the reputation which had given the authority of that Prince additional weight. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive what pretensions he could have to the conduct of affairs in France. He had distinct dominions of his own, which were fully sufficient to occupy him; and there were princes near to the throne well qualified to rule the state during the King's incapacity. The Queen, than whom a princess of more infamous memory does not appear in history, however loose and dissolute her private life might have been, had not, at this time, committed any of those flagrant acts in public matters which have stamped her memory with ignominy. The Duke of Orleans and herself were the persons whose position pointed them out as the natural guardians of the State; and they agreed so well, that scandalous report has been busy with their names.

Jean Sans-Peur (as he was surnamed) and the Duke of Orleans were at continued feud. The latter had, during the greater part of this period, the management of affairs; but the Duke of Burgundy thwarted and opposed him at every turn. It is not a little remarkable, that during that lamentable part of the life of Charles VI., which succeeded his first frenzy,—a period during which his lucid intervals were scarce, and his relapses continual,—there should have been no regular regency appointed, from whose

authority the public acts should emanate; and which should have been fixed and permanent. On the contrary, everything being carried on in the King's name, whoever, for the time, had in their hands the person of this phantom of sovereignty, possessed, for so long, the executive power of the State. This, which is one of the many evils of unrepresentative governments, was the cause of many of the crimes and misfortunes that ensued.

During this period the feuds of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans kept the whole nation in a state of continual agitation. When the Duke of Burgundy was present, his boldness and audacity set every opposition at defiance. On one occasion, when the Queen retired to Milan with the Duke of Orleans—for these two parties generally coalesced against the power of the Duke of Burgundy—the latter actually followed the Dauphin on his route to join his mother, and forcibly brought him back to Paris, and made him a party to all the measures of Government that he wished to carry. And this he did with an astuteness which would have made the world believe that it was at the instigation of the Dauphin himself, who was at that period quite a child, and made to repeat any words that the Duke chose to put into his mouth. This action had very nearly caused an open rupture and warlike hostilities between the Dukes: they were, however, at length apparently reconciled, and, coalescing for a short period, governed the nation jointly.

Thus the quarrels of the Dukes of Orleans and

Burgundy were chequered by occasional reconciliations. But these, like the intervals of the King's malady, were followed by relapses into a state worse than before. It is reported that the Duke of Burgundy had motives of a personal nature to irritate him against his cousin, in addition to those derivable from public affairs. The Duke of Orleans was said to be well with the Duchess of Burgundy; and even to have insulted the Duke by making him acquainted with the fact, by introducing him into a cabinet lined with the portraits of ladies of whose favour he boasted, among which was the portrait of the Duchess herself. If this be true, it would, perhaps, have justified Jean Sans-Peur in striking his rival dead on the spot: but nothing can justify, or even palliate, the horrible tragedy which consummated the hatred of the two princes*.

There had been recently a solemn and public reconciliation between the two princes. They had sworn friendship and faith to each other, and had taken the

* Some authors doubt this story altogether; others report that the Duke of Burgundy had heard the Duke of Orleans boast of having such a cabinet, and that, entering it afterwards by accident, he saw the portrait of his Duchess. Others, again, deny the guilt of the Duchess altogether, but impute the boast to the Duke of Orleans. Another version is, that he insulted her by a personal outrage, of which she complained to her husband. On the whole, it is very difficult to determine whether or not there were any real grounds for the story. It is remarkable that the Duke of Burgundy should cite none of these versions of it in defence of his crime. Still it is very generally recorded, and being in perfect consonance with the libertine habits of the Duke of Orleans, was very generally believed, and, from the nature of the story, it was very greedily repeated.

sacrament together, at the same time, in order to stamp their re-union with every circumstance of impressiveness, and to bind it by every tie which held man in faith to man, and in reverence to heaven. A few weeks after this (on the 23rd of November, 1407), the Duke of Orleans was assassinated in the street, by the order of the Duke of Burgundy!

The whole of the circumstances which followed this murder make human nature shudder. Nothing can show so clearly as they do the awful state into which France was plunged by the condition of the Government, arising from the thrice unhappy illness of the King, and the unspeakable wickedness of nearly all his family. At first, the Duke of Burgundy himself said that "there never was a more wicked or treacherous murder committed in that realm;" and he held a corner of the pall at the burial of his victim, and shed tears over his tomb. At last, when, on the provost of Paris saying that he doubted not, that, if he were allowed to search the dwellings of all, even of the princes of the blood, he should be able to get some trace of the murderers, he had at once licence given him to that effect; the Duke was observed to turn pale. The King of Sicily, his cousin, then asked him if he knew aught of it; on which the Duke took him and his uncle of Berri on one side, and told them that, surprised and tempted by the devil, he had ordered the murder. It appears that the shock upon the two princes was extreme; at last, the old Duke, shedding a violent flood of tears, recovered his voice, and

exclaimed, "Alas! then I lose both my nephews." It is almost the only good trait recorded in history of the Duke of Berri; and therefore, as I have spoken in his dispraise more than once, I have here given it.

He, however, showed a most culpable connivance at the escape of Jean Sans-Peur. Not only was he then allowed to retire from the council, but the next day, when, having recovered that bold, brutal audacity which gloried in all that was most atrocious, and was the hideous characteristic which distinguished him, he was actually coming again to the council which was called to deliberate upon the murder he had committed. The Duke de Berri met him, and, although he bade him not come thither, he allowed him to escape, which he did, after causing a public avowal to be made on his part, that he was the assassin of the Duke of Orleans. He immediately fled to Flanders; and even the actual perpetrators of the crime were also suffered to escape.

There was from this time, manifestly, among all the princes, no sufficient pains to bring this monster to justice,—except on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, who was the maternal uncle of the King and the deceased Duke. He expressed himself with great indignation at the Duke of Burgundy not having been arrested; and, at a later period, he refused to be a member of a commission to treat with the Duke at Amiens as equals, instead of sitting in judgment on him as a murderer. At first, there was very considerable excitement against the deed and its perpetrator.

In the feelings naturally excited by so terrible a death, that love for the Duke of Orleans which had, with his early years, been so prevalent among the people, revived. It seems that he, like his brother, had far more kindness of disposition than was at all usual in those times; and his manner had ever been peculiarly encouraging, and made him easy of access: likewise, his devotion to religion had always been most conspicuous, and now, when he had lost his life in a manner so calculated to excite pity, it is natural that these qualities should throw the looseness of his life, great as it was, into the shade.

His will, also, tended to make his memory popular. It was written by himself, and displayed the cultivated talents for which he was distinguished. His literary acquirements were, for the age, remarkable. The will began by strictly ordaining the payment of all his debts, and then left immense legacies to different religious establishments, and large donations to hospitals, and to the poor. But my motive for mentioning this will is the choice which he made of the guardian to his children.* The will was dated four years before his death, and named his uncle Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who then still lived, to that trust. This was exactly at the hottest period of their quarrels. I confess, I cannot but feel from this one circumstance that—contradictory as it seems to many of his great faults, which no one can have less desire to underrate than myself—Louis of Orleans must have been gifted with a nature cast, on some particular points, in a mould of very beautiful

generosity. The dissensions between him and his uncle were, at the very period, at a violent pitch, but he felt that Philip the Bold, whose abilities had always been held in high esteem in his family, was more able than any other to be a beneficial guardian to his children, if he were true to his trust; and the undoubting belief that he would be so could have sprung from no other cause than that his own heart told him *he* would be so in a similar circumstance.

During the first excitation caused by the murder, the Duchess of Orleans came to Paris, from whence she had been absent at the date of its perpetration, to demand justice against the Duke of Burgundy, both for the deed itself, and for the slanders he had cast upon the memory of her husband, in a statement of his motives which he had published in Flanders. The King was, at that time, in some enjoyment of his reason, and received the Duchess in great state. She had her complaints formally stated by a clerk, under the direction of the Chancellor of Orleans, to the King. This statement was answered by the Chancellor of France, to the effect that the King would do good justice as soon as possible, for the murder of his brother. But the King himself addressed all present, and begged them to take heed that he considered that which had happened to his brother as though it had befallen himself. The Duchess, who had been passionately attached to her husband, and was of a temperament peculiarly ardent and sensitive, threw herself, with her daughter, at the King's feet, embraced his knees, and

sobbed out agonizing entreaties that justice should be done. Charles, all whose glimmerings of reason seem to have been so uniformly marked by just and kind feeling, as to make us doubly lament the misfortunes which his illness caused—embraced them with great tenderness, promised them every protection, and declared he bitterly shared their grief.

But when the excitation of the moment was passed, no one thought of continuing the proceedings against the Duke of Burgundy. The unhappy widow found every one lukewarm; and when the Duke, having collected a considerable force in Flanders, set forward towards Paris, it seems as if there were no means to resist receiving his conditions. The people had begun to be rather well-inclined towards him, than otherwise; and it really would appear that at that period the great realm of France had neither available troops, nor money to raise them; nor anything like a directing government. The King fell into another access of his illness; and his Council, in which were the Dukes of Bourbon and Berri, and the King of Sicily, seemed not to know which way to turn.

At length, the two last proposed to the Duke of Burgundy a conference at Amiens. It was to this the Duke of Bourbon most rightly refused to go, and retired in disgust to his own duchy. Nothing could be got from Jean; he felt his power, and was determined to benefit by it to the utmost. So far from submitting to ask the King's pardon, he said he thought he deserved well at his hands for what he had

done. He now first brought forward *Jean Petit*, and other doctors, who maintained that, not only what he had done was not sinful, but that the Duke would have been sinful if he had not done it. The Duke of Berri, finding he could make no progress with his nephew, directed him, on the part of the King, not to approach Paris without being sent for. Jean, however, said that he should come as soon as possible to explain everything to the King.

This he accordingly did; and treating with scorn the injunction which met him at St. Denis, not to enter Paris with more than two hundred men, paraded through the streets, in great state, with at least a thousand, to his palace, the Hotel d'Artois, where he fortified himself very strongly. He contrived to spread among the people, that he should do away with all the taxes, and he became exceedingly popular among them. The Council, however, including the princes of the blood, now felt their folly, with bitter hatred against the Duke, in not having treated the matter with a high hand at first; but they had no help. They were even mean enough to limit their efforts to the request that he would not insist upon publicly avowing and justifying the murder of his cousin. But on this the wretch insisted.

An audience was granted him for the purpose, and was held on the 8th of March, 1408. The King was at that time ill, and the Dauphin sent for him, in the midst of all the most eminent persons of Paris, of all descriptions. It was now that, for the first time in

the Christian world, the crime of murder was supported, in solemn argument, as, in some—(from the number of instances brought forward, I may say in many)—cases, a virtuous act*. Jean Petit, a Norman cordelier, sustained the argument; which he grounded on the sins and vices of the Duke of Orleans, of which he formed a detailed catalogue that would have surpassed those of an incarnation of Satan himself. Some, indeed, were of a preternatural character, as sorcery was made prominent in the list. But were even double the wrongs of Jean Petit proved, I hope the mind does not exist in which they would lead to the conclusion, that private assassination can become a duty. To this extent does this monstrous exposition go. Nay, more; for it is alleged to be a merit demanding the recompense of an increase of affections, of honours, and of wealth!

No sort of allusion is made to private wrong, though revenge can never be recognized as an allowable principle of action in a Christian community; but here there is not even that miserable palliation hinted at. It is made a great social, political, and religious duty, privately to slay any man whom the individual slayer may choose to conceive to be acting against the interests of the state or the church!

It is not my purpose to enter into this mass of

* This odious doctrine was again publicly preached in Paris during the Ligue, and assisted in producing the assassination of Henry III. and IV. successively. But at that time the fury of fanaticism was added to that of political dissension.

hellish perversion of reason. It certainly displays erudition, and, here and there, what must be admitted to possess some slight ingenuity of quibbling. But even this can be of no avail, where the mere recurrence to what the point to be established *is*, must, to any mind possessing the very commonest powers, show in an instant the flagrant inapplicability of any one of the almost innumerable arguments and illustrations brought forward. They would be ludicrous to a degree quite irresistible, if the consciousness of the unspeakable atrocity of their object did not make the flesh creep.

The divisions of this discourse are so numerous and complicated as, looking only to them, to be a matter of curiosity; but they fade from the view of thought, as regards themselves, from the awful reflection of the degree of perversity at which that mind must have arrived, which could toil so intensely to establish the doctrine that murder is free from guilt!

As soon as the discourse was finished, Jean Petit called upon the Duke of Burgundy to avow what he had said. This he did in a loud and decided tone. It is but justice to the Parisians, gentle and simple, to say that this mode of proceeding excited universal disgust; but so miserably weak was the state of the kingdom, that no one dared give vent to their feelings openly. There was a pervading feeling of indignation, even to the common people, who were generally friendly to Burgundy; but the power was on the mur-

derer's side, and the voice of truth, justice, and virtue was hushed.

The next day the King was able to sit, but his mind was now generally weakened: that it must have been so to a lamentable extent, is apparent from his signing letters of pardon, even of praise, for the murder of his brother! This very remarkable document, after reciting that the King had considered the justifications made before his Council by the Duke of Burgundy, for "having caused the Duke of Orleans to be put out of this life *,"—*fait mettre horse de cette vie!!*—proceeds thus: "We make known, that having considered the fervent and loyal love, and good affection that our said cousin has had, and has for us and our race, and which we hope he will always have in time to come, we have taken, and do take, from our soul, all displeasure that, from the reports of persons evil-disposed unto our said cousin, or otherwise, we may have had against him on account of the

* His conduct throughout the celebrated quarrel of the University of Paris with the Provost of Paris, was guided to answer two purposes. One to pamper the pride of the University, so as to gain them to his party; the other to depose the Provost, who was the Sire de Tignonville, who had insisted upon instituting proceedings on the subject of the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and who was not inclined to guide his judgments according to the desires of the powers for the time being. One of the Duke's household was appointed his successor. If the facts have come down to us correctly, there can be no question of the Provost having been thoroughly in the right.

above-named things." It then repeats those expressions of affection, and ends by declaring the Duke, his heirs and successors, free from any future complaints on this subject.

Nor was this all; for the Duke became at once thorough and complete ruler of France! The Queen, dreading his ferocity, fled with all her children to Melun, whither the Princes followed, and began some preparations of resistance. But these mean-spirited time-servers soon returned to Paris, and submitted. The Queen's return was considerably later, and was remarkable, as will be seen.

For some time Jean Sans-Peur continued to govern France, and no whit better than that unhappy realm had been ruled under the incapacity of Charles VI., either by himself, his daughter Victoria, the other Princes of the Blood, or by the Queen. The sufferings of the people under this variety of rulers was characterized by what might be experienced under, the "different spikes of the same harrow."

The citizens continued to be oppressed by that agreeable system of free trade, which consists in powerful men, princes, and lords, sending their retainers to seize the goods they need for their daily consumption, and giving the good-humoured laughter —the surly abuse, in payment. I very much fear that the existing shopkeepers in Bond-street or Cheapside, or even in the Rue Vivienne or St. Honoré, do not sufficiently appreciate the honour of serving those of gentle blood, to be content to receive that

honour as their only reward; nay, even the worthy burghers of Paris, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, did not quite relish feeding and clothing all the French, to say nothing of the Burgundian, nobility, men-at-arms, and followers, for nothing. They even made complaints, which reached the unhappy King's ears, who forthwith issued ordinances to annul this system of commerce, which were attended to as all such of his ordinances were as gave justice to the people, and, *consequently*, annoyance to the nobility—viz. not at all. I question whether the love of justice, and consideration for the poor, which Charles VI. so often evinced, were not reckoned the strongest symptoms of his insanity by the princes, lords, and knights, who surrounded him. Moreover, the Duke of Burgundy removed the most eminent and able officers and magistrates from their stations, if they had ever shown him opposition, and filled their places with his own retainers.

But while the Duke was thus governing France, there was matter in his own neighbourhood that should earlier have called his attention thither. The Liegeois had for some time been in conflict with his brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, who had been appointed their bishop when a knight, and so fond of knighthood, that he constantly put off all his engagements to take orders. The Liegeois at length got weary of broken promises — elected a high-born canon of Liege bishop, and (this was during the great schism) on the Pope of Rome, whom Flanders recog-

nised, giving a further respite to the chivalrous prelate, appealed to the Pope of Avignon, who was held to be the real one in France, and who forthwith confirmed the canon's election. Thus a delightfully involved quarrel was got up. It depended upon which was Pope, to determine whether the Liegeois were rebels, or John of Bavaria an usurper; and the parties had been fighting this out during the last year.

The Liegeois had entirely got the upper hand, and Count John (for it is beyond me to decide whether or not he were the right Bishop, and it is *certain* he was a Count) was closely besieged in Maestricht. The Duke of Burgundy, for many reasons, would not suffer the Liegeois to prevail:—the so-called Bishop was his brother-in-law; he had already sent him large assistance; and, above all, it would never do for *a people*, in the Low Countries, to depose their reigning ruler. The Duke, therefore, laid out his whole strength, had an immense army collected, and left Paris to put himself at its head.

And now broke out that deep but smothered animosity against this monster, which, in truth, pervaded the whole Court, as well as the great mass of the educated and intelligent classes of Paris, but which his power had kept down. The Queen returned with the Dauphin and her other children, and made the most magnificent entry that had almost ever been witnessed. Jean Sans-Peur had taken all his soldiery with him; and the Duke of Britanny, who had recently become a sworn enemy, on account of the marriage of

a daughter of Burgundy with the representative of the rival house *, furnished some gens-d'armes. France itself seemed still to continue powerless!

The people received the Queen very favourably; and at this period she appears to have acted sensibly and well, notwithstanding her subsequently sacrificing her wedded country to her private bad passions. She put a stop to that system of pillage which had prevailed under the Duke of Burgundy; and, by very liberal regulations, put means into the citizens' hands to prevent its being renewed. The King had been for some time worse than ever; it was, therefore, resolved, in an assembly consisting of all the rank, learning, and wealth in Paris, that the Queen should preside in the council, and govern in common with the young Dauphin. These, undoubtedly, were the persons pointed out by their position as the proper heads of the regency. The celebrated and excellent Jean Juvenal des Ursins, of whom the reader will see some slight notice presently, set forth the reasons for this choice with his usual eloquence and sense.

Two or three days after the Queen's arrival, the Duchess of Orleans returned. This unhappy Princess is, I have always thought, one of the most touching personages in history. Coming into a country less polished than her own, she had what then must have appeared the good fortune to marry a man whose brilliancy and cultivation formed a remarkable ex-

* See Genealogy of the two houses claiming the Duchy of Britanny, vol. i. p. 18.

ception to the general coarseness,—but who, having strongly engaged her affections, wrung them by the unconcealed and unbounded licentiousness of his conduct. She was next exposed to accusations, all of them, from the circumstances, most manifestly void of foundation; and the far larger portion of them physically impossible, being of sorcery, but all of the darkest dye. She was but feebly consoled, and wholly unrighted, for these by her husband, whom, however, she always continued to love to adoration. He was snatched from her by a most revolting murder,—how the murderer had been treated hitherto we have already seen; what was his ultimate sentence we shall see presently. Pure in a court of singular corruptness; ever sinned against, never sinning; always good, kind, forgiving; beautiful but neglected; full of talents, which were represented as arising from what, in the ignorance of that age, was considered the foulest guilt,—the life of Valentine of Orleans was indeed unhappy,—and she died of a broken heart.

It was, however, for the present, the reign of her ascendency. *Her* advoçate pleaded now; and, by his pleading, the heart and the reason were alike convinced. They are, indeed, each appealed to alternately, in a manner *worthy* of each—higher praise cannot be given. The speaker was a monk of the order of St. Benedict, the abbot of St. Fiacre—his name was Serisy. Some parts of the oration are very beautiful. After all that had passed; after the

hideous, heart-hardening arguments of Jean Petit, the path for the present orator to choose was obviously that of the simple and natural feelings. Occasionally, he mingles these with sentiments, perhaps, of stronger, though none can be of more beautiful, nobleness, in a manner peculiarly easy and happy. There is one very remarkable thing in this speech. In alluding to the accusations brought against the Duke of Orleans, the abbot notices that of sorcery as impossible, there being no such thing. He exemplifies this position with many learned arguments, and with the confessions of many celebrated professors of sorcery, who had acknowledged its nullity. This shows that the orator was in advance of his age.

The effect of this speech was extreme—the memory of the Duke of Orleans was at once freed from the imputations cast upon it; and it was announced that the complaints against the Duke of Burgundy should be satisfied in due course of justice. But the Queen, the Duchess of Orleans, and the Princes, endeavoured to hurry the matter on with an unskilful speed, which in fact produced delay. They did not begin by causing the King's letters of pardon to the Duke of Burgundy to be revoked, which set the chief magistrates and men of business against them. The affair drawled on till the fortunes of Jean Sans-Peur changed. He obtained a most decisive victory at Hasbain over the Liegeois. This was almost the only great victory he ever did gain. We have seen him beaten at Nicopolis, and he had totally failed before

Calais a year or two previous to this time. The victory at Hasbain was used in a manner consonant with the hideous cruelty with which the war had been carried on, and which was remarkable even for those times. One of his lieutenants, the Sire de Jaumont, had more than once burned the whole population of towns in the churches where they sought sanctuary and shelter * !

This success occasioned a great change in the state of affairs in Paris. The Duke set off on his march thither with his army. Nothing can show the miserable condition of the French monarchy, at this period, more strongly, than that the approach of this insolent vassal towards the capital should cause the government to fly from it, and to open negotiations with him for a fresh pardon. This was the death-blow of the unhappy Duchess of Orleans. When she saw the lukewarmness and timidity of her friends, and that it was likely that the murderer of her husband would escape with impunity, she retired to Blois, and there absolutely died of despair and indignation. Her death, and the youth of her children, facilitated the pardon of Jean Sans-Peur. He came under a safe conduct to Chartres, where the Court then was; and at a public audience, at which, on his entrance, every

* M. de Barante says that the Duke's conduct in this battle gained him his title of Jean Sans-Peur; but most historians agree that that was given for his bearing when brought prisoner before Bajazet. His brother-in-law, the bishop, was named at Hasbain *Jean Sans-Pitié*—it would have suited the Duke just as well.

one rose except the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin, he made the following extraordinary apology to the King for the murder of his brother. The Duke knelt, and one of his lords spoke for him :—

"Sire,—the Duke of Burgundy, your cousin and servant, is come before you, being informed that he has incurred your displeasure on account of that which he has committed and caused to be done to the Duke of Orleans, your brother, for your good and that of your kingdom, as he is ready to prove to you when it shall please you to hear it. Nevertheless, he prays of you, as much and with all the humility as is possible, to dismiss from your heart all anger and resentment against him, and to receive him into your good favour."

The Duke then added, himself, "My very dreaded and sovereign lord, these words are mine, and I humbly beg of you to grant me the grace which I ask of you." The Princes of the blood then prayed the King to forgive the Duke, which accordingly he did. The Duke then retired, and the young Princes of Orleans entering, were entreated by the King to agree in the pardon just granted. Upon this he re-entered, and his advocate said—"My Lord of Orleans, and my Lords his brothers, here is my Lord of Burgundy, who supplicates you to banish from your hearts all hatred and vengeance, and to be good friends with him." The Duke himself said, "My dear cousins, I beg this of you." According to the pre-arranged ceremony, the Queen, Dauphin, and Princes of the

blood interceded with the young Duke and his brothers, who, with tears rolling from their eyes, successively said, addressing the King—"My very dear Lord, by your commandment I grant, I consent, and I agree to all that you have done; and I remit to him all things entirely." The King then delivered a general peace-making speech, excepting only the actual perpetrators of the deed, who, of course, were never even sought after. And such was the termination of the public proceedings with regard to the murder of the brother of the King of France!!

The Duke of Burgundy not only bore himself more haughtily than ever, but soon succeeded in possessing himself of the government. Yes! this self-proclaimed murderer, a foreigner, with dominions whose interests were wholly alien from those of France, and not only might be, but often were, actually opposed to them; this wretch, reeking from the carnage of the first Prince of the blood of France, possesses himself of the government of that country, through the imbecility of its unhappy King, and the weakness of his substitutes!

This time, however, it was not so tamely submitted to. The Count of Armagnac, whose daughter was married to the young Duke of Orleans, joined the other Princes of the blood, who began to revolt from the atrocities of Jean Sans-Peur; and, from his influence and activity, soon headed them.

With this union the factions of Orleans and Burgundy revived in tenfold horror, with the alteration of

the former name to Armagnac; and, under this appellation they are now chiefly known in history. It has always been a matter of wonder to me, that there should have been so much controversy as to the side on which the right originally lay. It is most remarkable, that scarcely any writer alludes to the fact of John of Burgundy being a foreigner, with foreign interests, and with no more natural claim to govern France than any other collateral kinsman of the King. The princes next to the crown; the King's uncles, his son under their guidance—these had manifestly the right,—it was, beyond doubt, their duty to regulate the kingdom during the unhappy Charles's repeated attacks of incapacity, now almost becoming constant.

One reason, perhaps, of this singular oversight is, that many of the historians were of the Burgundian faction; so much so, indeed, as to represent this odious monster, the Duke, as a very estimable sort of person. It is rather amusing to see them floundering round this question of the murder; many of them thinking its discussion altogether needless, and merely stating the facts—truly *they* are enough!

From this time, the contest between the two parties assumed the complexion of a civil war. Every one ranged himself on one side or the other; and each faction, as it prevailed, indulged in deep atrocities against their adversaries. Their reconciliations were never lasting; for each party being insincere themselves, dreaded insincerity in the others; and, again, dreading insincerity, became insincere. It always

seemed as if the endeavour was, which should break through their pacification the soonest.

But in both descriptions of guilt, that of treachery and that of blood, the Burgundians far exceeded the Armagnacs. There were no massacres perpetrated by the latter wholesale, as was the case on the part of their adversaries, especially on one awful occasion, of which the reader will find some mention further on. Their leaders, also, never seem to have been so personally mixed up with the more bloody proceedings of their followers, as was the Duke of Burgundy. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to conceive a person possessing more thoroughly the characteristics of a *tiger* than this noted personage. His talents resembled its craft, his courage its ferocity. There was nothing of the " fine, gay, bold-faced villain" in this man. He revenged his quarrels with the stiletto, not by open defiance; by exciting the populace to massacre his antagonists, not by meeting them in the field, in the face of day.—But I am anticipating.

The people of Paris were always of the Burgundian faction. The Duke, when he obtained the sway, invariably lightened the taxes, which, as he cared not one jot for the interests of France, he could do with ease; while those who desired to keep her government on a proper footing, and her forces at a necessary pitch, of course found this impossible. The populace, therefore, were nearly always on the Duke's side. At last, during a popular tumult, the King and the Dauphin were personally insulted. This chanced to be during an

interval of the King's illness; and he exhibited, on this occasion, the last gleam of that spirit which, at its rising, had shown such token of a brilliant noon. He declared the Duke of Burgundy an enemy of the state; he displayed the *oriflamme* at St. Denis, and took upon himself the command of the army. The Dauphin, however, was with him; and, in conjunction, they compelled Jean Sans-Peur to submit. He was pardoned, on condition that he would not approach within a certain distance of Paris, or of the court, without being called thither by letters patent of the King, given with the advice of his council. This stipulation effectually shut him out from any management of the state; and was, for the time, a death-blow to the power of his faction.

I have twice asserted that the Duke of Burgundy had no care for the interests of France. We shall now see with what justice I made that statement. His most deserved downfall happened in the year 1414, just as Henry V. was about to renew the war with France, which had been suspended since the reign of Richard II. The Duke of Burgundy, in his despair at his exclusion from power, entered into a treaty with Henry to assist him in recovering the French throne. It has been disputed whether this treaty was executed in 1416, or whether it was only confirmed and renewed in that year, and originally entered into as early as 1414. The writers in opposition to Jean Sans-Peur assert the latter *; but the only difference which

* These passages in the life of Jean Sans-Peur are discussed

either date would make is the greater or less duration, by two years, of the most disgusting and anti-national treachery. The chief provisions of the treaty were in substance, that "he (the Duke of Burgundy) had, till then, from lack of good information, been ignorant of the just rights of the King of England and his heirs to the crown of France; but that now, having acquired knowledge of them, he recognised them to be just and legitimate. That he would, in consequence, make mortal war against Charles VI. and the Dauphin; that he would do liege homage * to Henry V. as soon as he acquired a certain portion of the kingdom; that, although he acknowledged the homage to be due now, he withheld it, only the better to carry on the projects of the contracting parties against the French King; that by every secret means which he could think of, or should be pointed out to him, the Duke should endeavour to establish Henry on the throne of France; and if he still outwardly acknowledged Charles, or made treaties with him, it was only through dissimulation; and the better to effect their plans:"—with several other stipulations of an equally patriotic and honourable nature.

At whichever of the dates mentioned this treaty was passed, it is certain the Duke was not present at

ably and at length, though somewhat partially, by M. de St. Foix. *Œuvres*, tome v. pp. 164, *et seq.*

* *Liege* homage bound the vassal to assist his suzerain in war: *simple* homage was only an acknowledgment of feudal dependence.

the battle of Agincourt. His two brothers, however, the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Nevers, were there, and were among the killed. They brought a small contingent for the Duke; and their presence would certainly lead to the conclusion that his understanding with Henry V. did not begin till the subsequent year; but M. de St. Foix adds, in a note to his recording the death of the two princes of the House of Burgundy, "Il ne se soucioit guère de ses frères; mais par dissimulation, et pour cacher son traité avec Henri, il lui envoya demander raison de leur mort; il s'appaisa très aisément." This is writing like a partisan, certainly; but there is some ground for the opinion on which this remark is founded.

The victory at Agincourt had no great effects. With the exception of the vast number of persons of rank slain and taken prisoners, Henry V. gained only a free passage to Calais. It is far too commonly overlooked, that it was the civil dissensions, three or four years afterwards, which gave Henry the crown of France—not the battle of Agincourt. Indeed, after going to England to collect money and troops, he was two years before he landed again in France at the head of an army.

In the meantime great changes had taken place in the state of things. Two dauphins had died within a few months of each other; and the Duke of Burgundy had regained possession of Paris, and divided, at least, the authority of the state. These events had arisen as follows; and it will be seen that here, also, the

Armagnacs were originally in the right, for the cause of quarrel was the plunder of the public money.

Isabel of Bavaria was a woman not only of dissolute manners, but also of great avarice and ambition. She had received from the King, at some of the relapses of his illness, letters of regency; and she had availed herself of them to collect very considerable wealth, which she laid by for her own use. Among the rest she had possessed herself of a fund which had been amassed by the Constable of Armagnac* for the payment of the troops raised in the years immediately succeeding the battle of Agincourt. The Princes opposed this appropriation. This caused a violent quarrel between them; the Queen threatened the Constable; and he, knowing of what extremities she was capable, determined to be beforehand with her, and informed the King of the irregularities of her conduct. The consequence was, that one of her lovers, Louis de Brisbourdon, was seized, put to the torture, and then sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the Seine, with the remarkable inscription, "*Laissez passer la justice du Roi.*" The Queen was sent to Tours, where she was kept prisoner. It was this event which was the occasion of throwing France into the hands of the King of England; for the Queen henceforward took an irreconcilable hatred towards her son, and connected herself with the Duke of Burgundy, at whose very name she had shuddered since the murder of the Duke of Orleans.

* The third dauphin, afterwards Charles VII.

She wrote to the Duke to come and deliver her from her captivity. He had been hovering round Paris for some time with a considerable army, and had made himself master of several of the small towns in the environs. He instantly set off at the head of fifteen hundred chosen horsemen, delivered the Queen, and carried her to Troyes; where, in virtue of a commission of regency as old as the year 1403, which she chose to consider still in force, she set up a court, established several tribunals, and affected to be the only lawful authority in the state. She expressly prohibited obedience to any order of the King and the Dauphin, asserting that they were in the hands of evil counsellors, and therefore not free agents.

Several negotiations were set on foot, especially by the clergy, to bring about a reconciliation in the royal family, but without effect. In the mean time, the Duke of Burgundy obtained possession of Paris. His party was, as I have already noticed, always strong among the Parisians. Some of these communicated with Lisle Adam, a desperate partisan of Burgundy, who commanded for the Duke in Pontoise; and intimated to him that, if he would approach the gates by stealth, at night, with a sufficient force, they would contrive to admit him. Accordingly, on the night of the 28th of May, 1418, he came to the gate of Buci, with eight hundred men-at-arms. The son of one of the gate-keepers stole the keys from under his father's pillow, and opened the gate to Lisle Adam and his troop. A party of conspirators

ran through the streets, crying, "Up! up! awake! awake! *vivent le Roi et Bourgogne!*" The people were speedily aroused; they armed themselves with whatever came first to hand, and joined the Burgundians already in the streets. They then went to the palace where the King was lodged, and, seizing that unhappy person, paraded him through the town, so as to give his sanction to what was done. Tannegui du Châtel, one of the bravest and most faithful adherents of the Dauphin, ran to his hotel, seized the young Prince, naked as he was, and, wrapping him only in a sheet, took refuge in the Bastile, from whence, the next day, they retreated to Melun. The Burgundians, in the mean time, imprisoned all of the Armagnac faction they could find, and pillaged some of their houses; but, as yet, very little blood was shed.

This fact is to be attentively noted; for it tends to implicate Jean Sans-Peur in the guilt of the awful massacres which followed. In the first heat of tumult and insurrection, very few lives were lost; whereas, about a fortnight afterwards (on the 12th of June), when an answer had been received from the Duke of Burgundy, who was at Dijon, a massacre began, almost unequalled in blood and horror. It chances, however, that to one of the outrages of the Revolution—that of the *Septembriseurs*—the circumstances of the massacre of the Armagnacs bear considerable resemblance; for the chief victims of both were in prison, which the assassins forced, in order to perpetrate their crimes. There fell on this day the Con-

stable d'Armagnac, the Chancelier De Maule, six Bishops, the greater number of the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament—amounting to above forty, and a vast number of persons of lesser note. Several in the Châtelet were burnt alive; others were thrown from the tops of towers, and received below on the points of pikes and swords. The bodies of the Constable and the Chancellor were dragged, with ignominy, through the streets, and then thrown upon the dunghill.

On the 14th of July following, the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy made their triumphal entry into Paris. Nothing but joy and shouts of gladness were heard in the streets where the yells of death had so lately been. Hands, from which the blood was scarcely yet dry, threw flowers on the path of those at whose bidding it had been shed!

At this time Henry V. again landed in Normandy, and undertook the siege of Rouen. It is said that, in this, and his other conquests in Normandy, he was assisted by Jean Sans-Peur. The events which follow are very differently coloured by the various historians, and it is exceedingly difficult to trace the exact truth. It is certain, however, from whatever motives it might have arisen, and whether grounded in sincerity or not, the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin became outwardly reconciled. They met between Corbeil and Melun, on the 11th of July, 1419,—swore that they would love each other like brothers, and would unite to resist "the damnable

enterprise of the English." They then agreed to meet again, on the bridge of Montereau, on the 26th of August—a day afterwards changed to the 10th of September.

The circumstances attending this celebrated interview have excited more controversy than almost any others in history. The consequences which followed were so important, and the differences of narration are so great, that this remarkable passage in history is peculiarly deserving attentive study. I have devoted considerable attention to it, and shall proceed to lay the result before the reader.

The castle of Montereau is divided from the town by the bridge. The army of the Duke occupied the castle; that of the Dauphin the town. Each Prince was to be accompanied at the interview by ten attendants. Every conceivable oath had passed on each side, to guarantee mutual safety. A banner was placed at each extremity of the bridge; and within these, the Princes and their respective trains entered. In the middle, again, there was a species of inclosure formed of bushes, with an entrance on each side. The following account of what subsequently passed is taken from the narrative of John Juvenal Ursini, son of the celebrated person of that name, who was the most distinguished magistrate of this agitated period *.

* John Juvenal Ursini, called in French *Des Ursins*, was originally an advocate in the Parliament of Paris. He was distinguished for his probity and moral courage; and Charles VI. made him provost of the merchants — an office which it

"And the two said lords were examined respectively, and they had only their hauberks and their

was thought advisable to revive, after a long discontinuance. In this situation he vindicated the rights of the city against some encroaching nobles with great firmness. When Charles VI. was first attacked with frenzy, Clisson, Nogent, and La Rivière were displaced, and in danger of their lives. John Juvenal saved them. This exposed him to the vengeance of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who wished him to be put to death. Witnesses were suborned against him; but, informed of his danger by the affection of the people, to whom he was dear, he did not allow the plan time to ripen; but, appearing boldly before the Princes, vindicated himself, and reduced his enemies to silence. In the midst of the factions of Burgundy and Armagnac, the King and the state were the party to which he adhered. He reproached the Duke of Orleans with his lightness and debauchery of conduct, and the Duke of Burgundy with his being leagued with cut-throats and pluming himself on the murder of his rival.

In 1410, John Juvenal became king's advocate in the Parliament of Paris. This was in the midst of the Great Schism; and Juvenal maintained the right of the King to assemble his clergy, preside over them, and, having taken their opinions, to choose which Pope he would recognize. These ideas announce him to have possessed a mind in advance of his age. After the death of the Duke of Orleans, Jean Sans-Peur imprisoned and butchered all the Armagnacs, for whose public execution he could find no pretext. The King, the Queen, and the Dauphin, Louis, were prisoners, and exposed to the insolence of the followers of Burgundy; Juvenal formed the project of delivering them, and saving the State. He was beloved by the people, and especially by those of his own neighbourhood. He was able, at the same time, to raise their courage, to excite their zeal, and to restrain it; and this revolution, although the work of the people, was brought about without the loss of a single life.

The Dauphin, Louis, being now at the head of affairs, appointed Jean Juvenal his Chancellor. War was declared against the Duke of Burgundy, whom Juvenal had had the

swords; and when they had entered, they placed guards, each of his wn people, at the two hedges, and when they had entered into the park [the inclosure in the centre], omy lord the Dauphin spake the first, and said to the Duke of Burgundy, 'Fair Cousin, you know that at the treaty of peace lately made between us, at Melun, we agreed that, in a month, we should meet, at some place, to treat of the concerns of the kingdom, and to find means to resist the English: the place was chosen, and we came thither at the time appointed: and we waited for you there fifteen whole days; during which time, my followers and yours were doing injury to the people, and our enemies were conquering the country. I hold to the peace made between us, in the manner we have already promised and sworn. Let us consult, I pray you, of means to resist the English.' Then the Duke answered, that nothing could be

generosity to leave at liberty at the period of the tumult of Paris. All the country of which he had possessed himself was retaken, from Compiegne to Arras. The King, in person, besieged this place; and the Duke of Burgundy, being defeated in endeavouring to relieve it, was obliged to sue for peace. Juvenal caused it to be concluded. This was the last service he rendered his country. He refused, in his capacity of Chancellor, to affix the seal to some inordinate grants made by the Dauphin, and, in consequence, he lost his place.

He left two sons: one of whom was Chancellor, and the other Archbishop of Rheims. It is by the latter that the History of Charles VI. is written, which bears the name of Jean Juvenal des Ursins; and from which the quotation in the text is made.—See *Note to the Seventy-ninth Chapter of the Essai sur les Mœurs.*

advised and done, except in the presence of the King his father, and that he must come there. And the Dauphin very gently said to him, that he would go to my lord his father, when it seemed fitting to him, and not at the pleasure of him, the Duke of Burgundy; and that it was well known that whatsoever they two did, the King would be satisfied. And then some words passed, and the Lord de Noailles [he was one of the Burgundians] approached the Duke, who reddened and said, 'My lord, you must come now to your father;' and he endeavoured to put his left hand upon the Dauphin, and, with the other, half drew his sword. Then, Messire Tannegui du Châtel took my lord the Dauphin in his arms, and carried him out of the hedge, at the entrance of the inclosure; and there were some who struck the Duke of Burgundy and the Lord of Noailles,—and they both passed from life to death. And those of the castle, who were near the edge of the inclosure, did not take any notice, believing that it was my lord [the Dauphin] who had been killed. And, because Messire Tannegui du Châtel was strongly accused of having struck the blow, he caused himself to be vindicated before the son of the Duke of Burgundy, affirming, as a true man and a knight, that he did not and was not consenting that it should be done; and that if there were any two gentlemen who would say the contrary, he was ready to defend it, and to fight with them one after the other. Messire Robert de Loire, Messire Bataille, and the Viscount of Narbonne, con-

fessed that they had struck the Duke of Burgundy; and that they had done it because they had seen the Duke of Burgundy approach my lord, the Dauphin, and also the Lord of Noailles, half-drawing his sword; and then they struck."

Tennegui du Châtel is always accused of this murder by ordinary historians. It is true he was the favourite of the Dauphin, and ruled him; but, from the very brave, open, and disinterested character of this gentleman, I think it unlikely that he would have premeditated so foul an act of treachery; and still less likely that he would have denied the fact, if he had been hurried into it on the impulse of the moment. Mr. Hallam discusses the subject of this murder in a note, and says, "that there are three hypotheses according to which it may be considered:—1st, That the Duke of Burgundy intended to assassinate Charles, and that the act was one of self-defence;—2ndly, That it was regularly preconcerted by Charles;—and 3rdly, That Tannegui du Châtel, and other favourites of the Dauphin, long attached to the Orleans faction, who justly regarded the Duke as an infamous assassin, and might question his sincerity, or their own safety, if he should regain the ascendant, took advantage of this opportunity to commit an act less criminal, but not less ruinous in its consequences, than that which had provoked it." Mr. Hallam decides in favour of the last hypothesis; but I think there are yet two more that he has overlooked, both of which seem more probable than any of the three. The first, that

assassination was premeditated on either side; but that the Duke of Burgundy, wishing to possess himself of the person of the Dauphin, made the questionable movement described above, which caused the Prince's followers to be alarmed for his safety, and to put the Duke to death, on the sudden conviction of the moment to that effect. The second,—that no evil of any kind was intended on either side; but that the movement of the Duke of Burgundy was mistaken by the Prince's followers, and that they acted on the impression I have just stated. I am fully aware that there is very strong evidence given by the Burgundians directly establishing it as a premeditated murder;—but even this does not implicate the Dauphin personally. The ultimate impression upon my mind certainly is, that from whomsoever it arose, it was an affair of hot blood.

I am the more persuaded that this was the true state of the case, from the act being one of such manifestly bad policy, putting its moral merits out of the question. No preconceived motive could lead to the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy, except that of revenge for the murder of the Duke of Orleans, or of the Armagnacs more recently. But against this is to be placed the certain obloquy, if not ruin, which it would bring upon the Dauphin; in whose fortunes those of his followers could not but be involved, and the total absence of injury to the *party* of the Duke, by the indulgence of their hatred towards his person. He had a son grown up, whom such an act could not

fail to fix for ever in opposition to the interests of the Dauphin; as well as to give him a pretext available in the eyes of the world for joining the party of the English, to which he was supposed, already, secretly to incline. Tannegui du Châtel always evinced the strongest attachment to the person of Charles; and, as he subsequently sacrificed his ambition and interests to the good of the King and his kingdom *, it is not to be supposed that he could not conquer a feeling of merely political revenge by the same motives.

I trust I have said enough to make the reader coincide with me in thinking the murder of Jean Sans-Peur unpremeditated. Taking it to have been done in heat of blood, whether under a just or an erroneous impression, all is easily accounted for. If it were previously planned, its perpetrators must have been fools as well as cut-throats. But, whatever might have caused this act, its consequences were exactly such as might have been anticipated. The young Duke of Burgundy declared the Dauphin to be the base murderer of his father, and united, heart and hand, with the English, in order to deprive him of his succession to the throne. The Queen joined in the same cry; whether from mere retrospective revenge against her son, or in the hope of possessing more

* The Constable de Richemont exacted from Charles VII. the banishment from court of Du Châtel. This excellent person not only yielded to it without a murmur, but instigated the King, who was reluctant to consent.

power under the reign of her favourite daughter Catherine, does not clearly appear; but it is undoubted that her participation in the famous treaty of Troyes was to the full as zealous and sincere as that of the Duke of Burgundy, whose purposes of vengeance were so clear and immediate, or of Henry V., who was the only party whom it really benefited, and whom it benefited to so extraordinary an extent.

On the 21st of May, 1420, this remarkable treaty was signed—its provisions are well known. Henry married the daughter of France, was declared regent at once, and heir on the death of Charles VI., with remainder to his heirs general, even if there should be no issue to his marriage; thus for ever excluding the Dauphin, who was alluded to in these terms:—"Seeing the crimes committed by Charles, calling himself Dauphin of Viennois, it is agreed that no peace or truce shall be made with him, except by the joint consent of the two Kings and the Duke of Burgundy."

There can scarcely be conceived anything more inimical to the interests of France than this treaty. By it, the Queen (for the King by this time was perfectly imbecile) and the Duke of Burgundy stipulate with eagerness for the alienation of the crown, and the consequent deterioration of the House of Valois. The spirit of revenge must, indeed, have been strong which led them to such a sacrifice of their public, and, as it would seem to impartial observers, all their private interests.

The different manner in which the murder of the Duke of Orleans and that of the Duke of Burgundy were treated in the public proceedings on the subject merits observation. We have seen the sort of apology, defending the deed, in fact, which was the only punishment, if so it can be called, undergone by Jean Sans-Peur. When this atrocious ruffian is, in his turn, slain, his son publicly demands justice against the heir-apparent to the throne, by whom, he says, his father has been foully murdered; and that prince is, in default of appearance, adjudged, together with all his attendants on that occasion, to all the pains of *high treason*, and to be incapable of receiving any inheritance, possession, honour, or dignity, of what kind soever.

Henry V. and Charles VII. died in 1422, within a few months of each other. The first and chief bequest which Henry left to his brother, was the cultivation of the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy. And for fifteen years he remained the ally of the English, during the wars which Charles VII. carried on for the recovery of his birthright.

Into the detailed events of those wars I do not purpose here to enter. They are in the province of general history, and are probably as well known as any portion of its pages. The story of Joan of Arc, indeed, which forms the most interesting as well as prominent part of the whole, is one which has taken successively almost every species of literary form. It cannot but be familiarly known to all readers. The

Burgundians, also, were but allies in the war. They had, in point of fact, but small interests at issue, in comparison with the stake of the two great contending powers. I prefer, therefore, considering Philip the Good rather in his internal administration than in the part he played on the stage of European politics. The Flemish cities again came prominently forward during his reign.

The first thing which strikes the reader is curiosity as to the derivation of the surname *Good.* Philip was not, it is true, such an accomplished villain as his father, neither had he the ruffianly disposition of his son; but the extent and the character of his slaughter of the Flemings, during their contests with him, which the reader will presently see, stamp him to be coldly and awfully cruel. There are few things more to be loved than that kindliness and heartiness of temperament which is so peculiarly signified by the French term *Bon.* But we find no trace of this in the haughty, magnificent, and stony-hearted Philip of Burgundy. In him there is no display of the milk of human kindness. He is hard, harsh, arbitrary, and bloody; magnificent and gorgeous in his tastes and habits, but careless of the sufferings of his people,—nay, in some instances, deriving pleasure from their immediate contemplation. In this character—and it is far from being too highly coloured—there is surely nothing to deserve the emphatic appellation of *the Good.*

In especial, Philip affected the display of all the

fopperies of chivalry. He instituted one of its most celebrated orders, and used to have practised at his court the mummery of the "Vow of the Pheasant," in which "the ladies" also bore part in the invocation. One of the most celebrated acts of the early part of his reign is in singular opposition to this chivalric gallantry.

Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, Holland, and Zeland, was married to the young Duke of Brabant. Not liking, probably, a boy-husband, she obtained a divorce, and immediately afterwards married Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V. That this was a marriage likely, on every account, to be displeasing to the Duke of Burgundy, was more than probable; and therefore it was, no doubt, highly impolitic for the Duke of Gloucester to enter into it. Indeed, it was the first occasion of quarrel between Philip and the English party. But this, in no degree, makes it just for Philip to insist upon the marriage being broken off; and, having effected it, to force Madame Jacqueline to declare him her heir; and to enter into an engagement never to marry without his consent;—a stipulation equivalent to her never marrying at all. Eventually, he did not wait for her death to enter upon her succession; for, taking advantage of her privately marrying a knight of Burgundy, he ejected her from her dominions, allowing her a pension to live upon, in lieu of all claims: and this is the gallantry of the chief of the order of the Golden Fleece!

It was on the occasion of his marriage with Isabel of Portugal, in January 1430, that this celebrated order was instituted. The festival of the wedding was of unprecedented magnificence. The citizens of Bruges rivalled, we are told, the greatest lords of Burgundy, in the splendour and richness of their appearance. The rejoicings continued for eight days successively. Both the palace and the town (of Bruges) were a continued scene of feasts, and dances, and public games. In the court of the palace were three fountains, one in the shape of a lion, another of a stag, and the third of an unicorn. The lion spouted Rhenish wine; the stag a light Burgundy; and the unicorn, at dinner time, rose-water, to wash; and, at other times, Malmsey, Muscat, and Hypocras, turn by turn.

Philip adopted, on occasion of this marriage, the motto "autre n'aurai," in compliment to his bride. But the compliment extended only to words, not deeds —"Car," as an old historian says, "pour les amours il ne s'en fit faute pas plus après qu' auparavent." There prevailed a rumour even that the order of the Golden Fleece was instituted in honour of a mistress, a hosier's wife of Bruges, from a motive very similar to that which induced Edward III. to found the order of the Garter—namely, to make that emblem which had been a subject of mockery to his courtiers an object of ambition and desire. It is certain, however, that an institution of this kind was very much in consonance with the tone of Philip's tastes in general, and

that he always laid peculiar store by this order of his creation.

The order was to be composed of thirty-one knights, gentlemen of birth and arms, and without reproach. They were to quit any other order to which they might belong, with the exception of sovereigns, who might retain those orders of which they were the head. The collar was composed of the representation of *a flint and steel,* with sparks flying forth. This had been for a longtime the device of the Duke, and was meant to typify that to strike was to inflame him.

This order, which has acquired so much celebrity from its having become attached to the empire, and to Spain when at its zenith*, was regulated by ninety-four articles, which provided rules of the most extraordinary minuteness. It was, probably, an act of good policy on the part of the Duke of Burgundy, as it could not but be a powerful engine to attach to his service the number of warlike lords and knights by whom he was surrounded. With the same view, and also to indulge his taste for magnificence, he held frequent tournaments, and always with a splendour peculiar to himself.

But, during all these pomps and vanities, the people, the wretched people, were suffering to an extent

* The House of Austria is descended, by females, from these Dukes of Burgundy; and when it branched into two on the abdication of Charles V., both branches retained the order of the Golden Fleece!

almost unparalleled even in *their* miserable country which had now been the seat of war nearly a hundred years! The Companions attached to each party, French, English, and Burgundians, were equally rapacious, cruel, and devastating, and spared neither friend nor foe. They acquired the terrible name of *Flayers* (*Ecorcheurs*), from the circumstance of their stripping their unhappy victims, if not *of*, *to* their very skin. Fields were left waste, for he who sowed was certain that he should not be permitted to reap. *Sic vos non vobis!* What a sad comment is this on the splendour and pomp of the *good* Philip! What an awful contrast between the condition of the few and that of the many! The very circumstances of horror which caused the death and ruin of the one, were the means of wealth and greatness to the other!

So much for the actual state of France and Burgundy. Now let us look to Flanders. There were, in the mean time, several occasional tumults in the Flemish cities, on account of the reduction of the value of money, and other invasions of their privileges. But, during the continuance of the war with France, Philip had too much on his hands, not to dread such revolts as those of the Flemings usually were. He therefore pacified, rather than suppressed, them. Thence, none peculiarly worthy of record occurred till after the peace; when there happened some of the most remarkable among the many of which Ghent and Bruges were the scene. I must

first notice the reconciliation of the Duke with Charles VII.

It is obvious that the natural connexion of the House of Burgundy, in these contests, must be with France against England. Revenge for his father's fate, and other general party interests—the faction of Armagnac being, after the murder of the Constable, enlisted under the Dauphin—had thrown the weight of Philip's influence into the opposite scale. Time, however, had cooled these feelings; and several disgusts against the English, slight, individually, but considerable in the aggregate, tended to hasten the return of a more national and natural state of thought. The extreme concessions, also, with which Charles was willing to purchase the Duke's alliance, were not to be overlooked. Accordingly, in the year 1435, we find peace made between Charles and Philip; of which the following were the principal terms:—

"The King shall say, or by notable persons sufficiently authorized shall cause to be said, to my lord, the Duke of Burgundy, that the death of my lord, John Duke of Burgundy (whom God absolve), was iniquitously and wickedly done by those who perpetrated the said act, and of bad counsel: that it has always displeased him, and does, at this present, displease him, with all his heart; and if he had had the same age and understanding then as he has now, he would have obviated it with all his power. He shall pray my lord the Duke of Burgundy, that all hatred

and ill-will which he may have against him on this account, may be removed from his heart, and that there may be good peace and love between them; and of this shall mention be made in the present treaty.

"The King abandons to be punished, in body and goods, those who accomplished this wicked action: he will make all possible endeavours to have them seized; and if they be not, will banish them for ever from his kingdom and from Dauphiny: whoever assists or harbours them shall be confiscated, body and goods.

"The Duke of Burgundy shall name, as soon as possibly he can, those whom he shall know to be guilty of, or consenting to, this wicked action: incontinently, they shall be proceeded against in the King's name; and, as the Duke has not been able yet to have true knowledge of those who committed the crime, he shall only be bound to name them, in proportion as he shall know them."

After these remarkable conditions, follow others for instituting masses for the repose of the soul of Jean Sans-Peur; and for compensation for the jewels, &c., which the Duke wore when he was assassinated.

The King then cedes to the Duke of Burgundy the county of Mâcon, the county of Auxerne (at the two extremities of Burgundy proper), and the chatelainry of Bar-sur-Seine; as also, the right of the keeping of the Abbey of Luxeul (disputed between the Duke, as Duke of Burgundy, and the King, as Count of Champagne), and the towns and chatelainries of Peronne,

Roye, and Montdidier; together with a great variety of disputed rights and privileges.

There was added the singular provision, that the Duke should be exempted, personally to the King, from all homage, and other feudal submissions; but that his successors should be held to it, whether to the King himself or his successors; as also the Duke to the King's successors, if he were the survivor.

A great many articles, on divers subjects, were added, but all to the favour of the Duke of Burgundy. And, hard as these conditions may seem, it cannot, I think, but be allowed, that it was a wise policy which induced the King to grant them; for, in a war between two powers so nearly balanced as France and England were at this period, the adhesion of Burgundy to either could not fail to turn the scale. It was Henry the Fifth's dying injunction, never to forfeit the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy; so fully did he appreciate its value. This treaty, known in history by the name of the Treaty of Arras, was contemporaneous with the death of the Duke of Bedford, the great Regent of France. At these events, though our foreign possessions were not finally wrested from us till some years afterwards, may be dated the downfall of our continental power. As the Treaty of Troyes brought it to its zenith, so may that of Arras be said to have been its death-blow.

From peace with France to war with England, the transition was easy and rapid. Accordingly, in the following year the Duke declared against his former allies.

Being desirous of distinguishing this act by a splendid success, he undertook the siege of Calais, at the head of an armament such as was rarely seen even in those days of constant war. Philip had, by exciting at once the fears and the ambition of the Flemings, induced them to furnish an immense contingent to aid in the expedition. The "good towns of Flanders" displayed all their power and their wealth. The taking Calais from the English seemed to be the object nearest every man's heart. Ghent, especially, evinced exceeding zeal. That city, with its dependencies, furnished seventeen thousand men, armed and equipped in the most lavish style. Every house was rated towards the expenses of the war—a certain proportion to be paid in money, and the rest in waggons, horses, &c.

In the fitting out this expedition we again meet with the celebrated name of the *White-hoods.* Some delay having been evinced in the country parts of the jurisdiction of Ghent, in sending in their contingent of waggons, it was announced to them that, if they were not sent forthwith, the White-hoods would come and fetch them,—a threat which was followed by instant compliance, so strong was still the terror of this name!

Bruges and the other towns of Flanders were not behindhand; and, by the beginning of June, the Duke of Burgundy reviewed and set forward on its march towards Calais a Flemish army of thirty thousand men. Such were the populousness and power which commerce gave to its votaries, even in those days! It

was necessary, however, to humour these bold and tumultuous citizens. The whole expedition seemed to be regulated according to their pleasure. The Picards and Burgundians, who formed the Duke's ordinary army, were quite thrown into the background by these unwonted colleagues. These last were, indeed, puffed up not a little with the splendid appearance they made in arms. They used to say to the Picards, "When the English hear that my lords of Ghent have taken up arms, and are coming to besiege them with all their power, they will not wait for us; but, leaving their town, will fly into England. It is a great negligence that the Duke's ships, which were to come to besiege them by sea, should not be arrived before us, to prevent their going."

But if the Flemings were strong and confident, they were also undisciplined and intractable in the extreme. Used to arms only in sudden broils and tumults, they had no idea of the steady obedience necessary for a soldier on regular service. They were encamped on the very ground which Jacques d'Arteveldt had occupied ninety years before, when the Flemings had come to assist Edward III. in *his* siege of Calais.

The Duke, having taken the small outlying posts, approached very closely to the town. The sorties and skirmishes were continual; and, in these, the Picard and Burgundian men-at-arms, the veterans of a twenty years' war, naturally acquitted themselves better than the new Flemish levies. In several of these small actions they appeared so manifestly info-

rior to their brother-soldiers as to cause them extreme annoyance and irritation; and this was the first beginning of those disgusts which had such important consequences, both direct and mediate. They also murmured exceedingly at the non-arrival of the fleet: they said they had been promised that the town should be invested by sea and land at once; and that it was impossible to take the place while vessels arrived daily from England with provisions, reinforcements, and munitions of war.

In the mean time the English were making vast preparations for the relief of Calais, which was always their favourite possession in France. The Duke of Gloucester had assembled a great army for the purpose. He sent a herald before him to the Duke of Burgundy, to say that he, the protector of England, was about to pass the sea, with all his power, to fight him; and if the Duke did not wait for him, he would go seek him in his dominions. Philip answered that he would assuredly be in that spot to wait for him.

To a person who prided himself upon his knighthood so much as Philip of Burgundy, it may be supposed that it would, indeed, be a bitter pill to be obliged to fail in such an engagement as this. He had some fear, however, of the inconstancy of the Flemings; and therefore, going to the head-quarters of Ghent, one of his counsellors recounted the challenge he had received, and the answer he had given; and exhorted the Flemings to stand by him. They promised to do so loyally.

At last, on the 25th of July, the long-expected fleet arrived. It was considered impracticable to keep the sea, in the difficult strait between Dover and Calais; and, therefore, the Duke's ships had brought with them materials for blocking up the mouth of the harbour, so as to prevent the entrance of the succours expected from England. Accordingly, in despite of the fire of the besieged, they sank four large vessels, filled with stones, at the place selected. But their efforts were of but slight avail, for at low water the hulks were left high and dry; and the spot being out of gunshot from the besieging army, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, went out and set the vessels on fire, and destroyed them. The flowing of the tide dispersed the stones which they had contained.

This was the only assistance which the fleet rendered to the army; for, fearing both the weather, and the large expedition which was coming from England, they set sail and returned to Holland.

Then the Flemings burst out into almost open mutiny. They said that they had been betrayed; that they had been promised that the place should be invested by sea, but that now the fleet was gone away, and it was expected that the army should do all. The Duke held a council, to which he summoned the captains of the Flemings, who were well affected, but who declared they could not restrain their men. In the midst of it a sudden sortie of the garrison carried the most important work which had been erected by the

besiegers, and a considerable number of Flemings were killed.

Then it became impossible to restrain the tumult. "We are betrayed!" they exclaimed, "we are betrayed! None of the promises made to us are kept; every day our people are killed and taken, and the nobles do not come to help us; let us go, and return to our own country!"

The Duke strove to appease them, but in vain. They insisted upon returning, and began to make preparations for their departure. At last, the Duke, in despite of his pride and sternness in command, was obliged to yield; and, saying that if they *would* go, he would accompany them, he raised the siege, and set off on his return to Flanders.

The Duke felt this blow very severely. His honour was hurt in several ways by the failure of this enterprise; and it is probable that he retained a grudge against the Flemings, the men of Ghent especially, who were the foremost, until he had an opportunity of revenging himself upon them. This did not happen, however, for a considerable time; on the contrary, in the tumults which arose indirectly from the events attending the raising of the siege of Calais, the people had, for a considerable time, the upper hand.

The most dangerous of these were in Bruges. They happened out of the following circumstances. When the Duke of Gloucester came over, with the army he had collected, to relieve Calais, and found

the siege raised, he employed it in making incursions into Flanders, in which great devastations were committed. The militia of Flanders was called out against the English. When that of Bruges was ordered towards Cadsand on this service, they had to pass through the town of Sluys; but Roland d'Utkerque, who commanded there for the Duke, shut the gates in their face, saying they were rascally mutineers and traitors, reminding them of the affair of Calais. They returned to Bruges in a state of fury. They assembled in the market-place, and declared they would not put down their arms, or go to their homes, unless Roland d'Utkerque were punished for the insult he had offered them. They also demanded that the fortress of Sluys should be demolished.

The magistrates of the town endeavoured to appease the tumult; but one of them, who bore the title of *scoutête*, that is to say, officer of justice for the Duke, was seized and strangled with a sling, and his body was thrown into the market-place, without their permitting it to be buried. The insurgents possessed themselves of the keys of the city and of the cannon. They acquired and retained the command of the place.

The Duchess of Burgundy, with her young son, was in Bruges. The Duke came into the neighbourhood, and begged that she might be permitted to come to him;. this was granted—a courtesy from an infuriated populace, who might have retained her as an hostage, which ought to have procured them better terms than they ultimately obtained.

The Duke was not, at the moment, in force to resist the insurgents, but he had sent for troops from Burgundy; and, on their arrival, he began to take measures to suppress them. He took possession of all the approaches to the town by water, and thus cut off the communication by which Bruges was supplied with food. The insurgents sent deputies to the Duke at Lisle, who answered that he would come to Dam to treat; but that, as a preliminary step, it was absolutely necessary that they should leave the market-place, in which they had been encamped for some weeks, and return peaceably home. At last, after having remained there six weeks, they dispersed, being intimidated at the approach of the Duke with his Burgundians. They sent deputies to him to Ghent, who begged mercy, which he granted them, with even an extension of their privileges; being extremely unwilling to engage in a protracted contest with his Flemish subjects, when he had a heavy war to maintain against the English.

The snake, however, was only scotched, not killed. Under these embers of peace, the fire of discord still lurked; and, speedily afterwards, again burst into a blaze. The desire to be avenged upon Sluys, over which the burghers of Bruges claimed jurisdiction, gave immediate rise to this. They declared that the Duke had not decided upon this point; and they summoned the magistrates to answer for the damage and insult done to them. The Burgundians had considerable influence at Sluys, and persuaded the magis-

trates to disregard the summons. Then the discontented flew to arms again; they forced their magistrates to pronounce sentence of banishment against Roland d'Utkerque, Nicolas de Comines, and the sheriffs and magistrates of Sluys. They again possessed themselves of their town; and, being considerably reinforced by the inhabitants of the open country, and by some mercenaries whom they hired, they were once more too strong for the Duke.

Philip, who had neither the power, nor, as yet, the will, to deal vigorously with the insurgents, convoked at Ghent the Estates of Flanders, to pronounce upon the claim which Bruges had set up, to have Sluys under its jurisdiction. He declared, however, his fixed determination that Sluys should remain directly under the authority of the Counts of Flanders, in the same manner as Oudenarde, over which the Gantois had similar pretensions; and that the sentence against his officers and the magistrates of Sluys should be revoked. Having expressed these intentions, he left the Estates to deliberate, and returned to Lisle.

The men of Bruges consented to revoke the sentence of exile, contenting themselves with forbidding the entrance of the city to the proscribed parties. But other subjects of dispute were continually arising. The next sprang from the rapacious injustice of one of the lords of the country: Joachim d'Hallwin, Lord of Utkerque and Blankenberg, had a seigniorial right to the fourteenth part of the flour which was ground at his mills. He chose, at this time, to advance this

claim to a sixth part, to forbid the inhabitants carrying their wheat to any other mills, as well as to buy flour or bread elsewhere. The magistrates of Bruges declared that the matter came within their jurisdiction; and, taking cognizance of it, regulated the toll at a twelfth, restored to the inhabitants the liberty of buying bread where they pleased, and condemned the Sire d'Hallwin to pay a fine of three hundred livres, and to repair five roods of the walls of the town at his expense.

While matters were in this state the Duke returned, and found the public mind more excited than ever. On a false alarm of the four principal trades arming, the Duke called out his power; and this gave the citizens the opportunity of saying that there were people about his person who calumniated them to him. They particularly accused the burgomaster, Maurice de Varsenaere, on account of his intimacy with the Duke; and he and some others of the most notable citizens were, with difficulty, saved from their fury.

In the mean time Ghent was in a very troubled state, now breaking out into tumult, and now being appeased. The States of Flanders came to no decision on the points at issue; and the Duke, taking advantage of a momentary lull at Bruges, decided the point of his own authority in the manner which he had declared.

The siege of Calais it was which had thus unsettled men's minds: it had drawn them from their habits of

regularity and industry, and had added the irritation of ill success to this laxity of order. The citizens who had stayed at home daily reproached and insulted those who had been the most forward to raise the siege; and, at last, the Gantois went so far as to put to death James de Zaghene, the grand deacon of the trades, who had been the first man to strike his tent before Calais. It is on record that the Duke pardoned *this* act of outrage much more easily than the others; that an act of amnesty was granted, and nobody punished for the crime.

In Bruges the sedition was brought to its height by a curious circumstance. Varsenaere had a colleague in the office of burgomaster, named Vandevelde, whose wife, an intriguing, ambitious woman, persuaded the Duke that, if all the power were intrusted to her husband and her brother, they would entirely put down, and duly punish, all the factions in the city. The Duke sent for Vandevelde to Arras, who undertook in writing to use every exertion in his power to chastise the people. He then sent for Varsenaere, who recommended absolute pardon, saying, that an attempt to punish would only generate further outrages. On his return he remonstrated with Vandevelde for his imprudence in committing himself as he had done, saying, if the people came to know it, they should both be lost.

On this, Vandevelde's wife tried to persuade him to assassinate Varsenaere; but, finding that he would not listen to so foul a project, she, her brother, and

her son, spread among the people that Varsenaere had entered into the engagements with the Duke, which, in fact, had been done by herself and her husband. A tumult ensued, and Varsenaere and his brother were massacred.

The more notable citizens applied to the Duke for assistance; and he, at last, determined to make an example of the most factious. He made answer, that he was going into Holland on the subject of the inheritance of Madame Jacqueline of Hainault, who was just dead, and that he would pass through Bruges on his way. He accordingly set off with a suite of fourteen hundred men. He brought with him his best knights, and among the number Roland d'Utkerque, and Nicolas de Comines, against whom the people of Bruges had such peculiar hatred; also the Maréchal de Lisle-Adam, the same who surprised Paris in 1418, for his father, Jean Sans-Peur.

The Duke halted at Rosslaer, a few leagues from Bruges, and sent his quartermasters forward to provide quarters for the troops. They entered without any difficulty. The Duke arrived before the gates of the city on the 22nd of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon. The chapter, the burgomasters, the sheriffs, and other magistrates, had come out to meet him. When they saw the number of men he had with him, they begged of him to enter only with his knights, and his immediate suite, and to send the troops to Mâle, where lodging and provisions should be furnished them. They reminded him that he had

made a promise to that effect to Louis Vandevelde, when he had sent for him to Arras. The Duke said he only wished his army to pass through the town to go to Sluys, where they were to embark for Holland. The citizens still persisted in their demand—a conduct which exceedingly surprised the French knights who accompanied the Duke, who began to talk of chopping off the heads of all who had joined in the rebellion. But the Duke well knew that this would have been the death-warrant of the officers whom he had sent on the night before, and who were in the town.

The discussion lasted a couple of hours; at the end of which time the Duke ordered two knights to possess themselves of the gate, and he entered, followed by a numerous body of archers. The Maréchal de Lisle-Adam, who had cruelly learned the habit of dealing with a tumultuary populace, in the old riots in Paris, during the contests of Burgundy and Armagnac, thought it unwise to enter, with so small a force, into a town in a state of insurrection: for, during the parley at the gate, the people had become excited both with fear and rage; "The Duke is come," said they, "with his Picards, to ravage the town. Nobody will be spared—our great enemies, the Sire d'Utkerque, and the Sire de Comines, are with him!" They formed themselves into bodies; they took up arms; and, by the time of the Duke's entrance, had risen in open rebellion.

The Duke did not anticipate any danger, and marched on till he reached the market-place. There

two citizens, named Raze Ywan and Martin Vandermessen, aged men, and known as enemies of disorder, presented themselves before the Duke to do their homage. At the instant, the people sprang upon them, and tore them to pieces before his eyes. The men-at-arms then drew their swords, and the archers their bows, and ten or a dozen citizens fell dead, and many more wounded. They did not, however, recoil, but poured upon the soldiery, both in the street and from the windows, a shower of every species of missile, arrows, stones, logs of wood, anything and everything that came to hand. At this moment a messenger arrived to inform the Duke that the guard stationed at the gate had been overpowered; that the gate was closed, the portcullis lowered, and thus all communication with the main body of the army cut off. The Duke perceived his danger; and, dividing his small force into two parts, gave orders to retreat to the gate. The body of which he was at the head retired through the main street. The number of assailants increased every moment—that of the troops proportionately growing less. Above an hundred archers had already fallen; and the small escort of the Duke was, every instant, becoming more closely pressed. The Maréchal de Lisle-Adam, seeing the archers give way, dismounted; and, in order to encourage them, headed a charge against the populace. But he charged alone; no one dared follow him; he was struck down and massacred in a moment. His collar of the Golden Fleece was torn from his neck; he was stripped of his

armour and clothes, and his naked and mangled body was dragged through the streets of Bruges, as, twenty years before, that of the Constable d'Armagnac had been, under his eyes, at Paris!

Meantime, the few remaining about the Duke closed round him for his protection. His life was in great danger. Some of the citizens cried out, "Take care what you do! he is your lord!" But when was ever the voice of reason listened to in the midst of furious excitation? At last, one of the deacons of the trades, by name James Hardoyen, determined to save the Duke. While the fight still continued before the gate, he ran into a locksmith's, seized his tools, and, with his assistance, broke open the gate. The Duke, the Sires d'Utkerque and De Comines fled through it in all haste, with a few other gentlemen. The rest of the Burgundians remained shut in the town, and fell into the hands of the insurgents, to the number of two hundred. Many were massacred, and several were drowned in the ditch, in trying to escape.

The next day, James Hardoyen was beheaded; and his body, cut into quarters, was exposed at the different gates of the town. The locksmith, also, was killed. The prisoners who remained were also about to be put to death; but, after twenty-two of them had suffered, the clergy and the foreign merchants begged the lives of the remainder. It was certainly imprudent of the Duke to enter with so small a body of men, when he had engaged to be accompanied only by his knights. He had better have adhered to this, or brought his

whole army with him. But nothing can excuse the sanguinary ferocity of the burghers; they could have nothing to fear, and their falling upon this small band was equally uncalled for and inhuman. Their massacring the two old men for saluting their lord, which began the tumult, was cowardly and inhuman; and their formally putting to death the man who had aided the Duke's escape shewed the meanest and most sanguinary spirit of revenge. But even in the midst of this violence and atrocity, some instances of a milder feeling intervened. The confessor of the Duchess, two choristers of her chapel, and some immediate servants of her household, were sent to her freely.

The people of Bruges were now, for some time, completely masters within the town. The Duke determined to starve them out; and, consequently, established posts upon all the rivers and canals by which the town was supplied. Cut off from their usual resources, the men of Bruges made foraging excursions into the country, after the fashion of the regular companies; and thus all commerce was prevented, and nearly all internal production annihilated.

The other parts of Flanders were, by these means, exposed to great inconvenience and injury. They applied to the Duke to put an end to this state of things; but he took no notice of their application, being determined to reduce the men of Bruges to obedience. At length, the Gantois, in order to bring affairs to their natural position, marched in large numbers against the inhabitants to compel them to submit.

But, as Bruges held out, the bad state of the weather (it was in November), and the internal dissensions which arose in the Gantois camp, caused them to return home without achieving any enterprise of importance.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Bruges, being abandoned by the rest of the Flemings, and being invested closer and closer by the Duke's troops, began at last to think of submission. The richer citizens who naturally wished to put an end to the insurrection, began to be listened to. They appealed to the intercession of the Duchess, who was a constant protectress of the town of Bruges. Some of their ringleaders, who had been the prime objects of their favour, were put to death. The prisoners, who had been detained since the day of the Duke's escape, were sent back to him, richly clothed, and gratified with large presents. At last, having, by these and other means, striven to appease the Duke, they sent deputies to him to treat for definitive peace. The following were the conditions he imposed:—

When the Duke shall make his first entry, the magistrates and twenty citizens shall come to meet him, at the distance of a league, with bare heads and feet; shall throw themselves on their knees, and exclaim "Mercy!" Whenever the Duke, or his successors, shall enter the town, the keys of all the gates shall be brought to them. A large cross shall be erected at a league from the gate which the inhabitants shut against their prince, and near which they dared

to attack him. That gate shall be converted into a chapel; a solemn mass shall be chanted, on every anniversary, at the church of St. Donat, and four citizens shall hold a lighted taper during the whole ceremony.

Then followed compensations to the families of those who had been put to death for siding with the Duke; and an exception of forty persons from the general amnesty. The jurisdiction of Sluys was declared to be independent from that of Bruges. Several provisions regulating the trades were added, including the singular and unjust stipulation, that "henceforward the goods of bastards should belong to the prince, by inheritance."

In May, 1438, the Duke entered Bruges. The city was then suffering under annihilation of commerce, dearth, and pestilence—the natural effects of war! About a dozen of those excepted from the amnesty were beheaded. Among the condemned was the wife of Vandevelde: her sentence bore that she should be buried in the market-place, and that a large stone should be erected over her remains, bearing the following inscription:—"Here lies Gertrude, wife of Louis Vandevelde; a detestable woman, who, by her lies, brought her noble prince into a very great peril, and threw her town into horrible calamities." At the entreaty, however, of several ladies of the town, her life was spared; and her sentence, as well as that of her husband, was commuted into perpetual imprisonment.

Thus ended these seditions, which had engaged the attention of the Duke for nearly two years. I have dwelt upon them in the greater detail, as being strongly illustrative of the haughty and independent spirit of the Flemish cities, which remained to so great an extent unbroken after so many years subjection to the arbitrary Dukes of Burgundy, and which was a characteristic so peculiarly confined to them, among the nations north of the Alps, during the Middle Ages.

During the years which followed, no remarkable occurrences took place in Flanders. The Duke of Burgundy's share in the general politics of Europe was always considerable; but the events to which it led are too desultory and too much interwoven with other affairs to find a fitting place here. I prefer going on to that contest between the Duke and the men of Ghent, commencing about the year 1448, which led to such important results.

The Duke had never thoroughly forgiven the Gantois for their behaviour before Calais, and he seemed now to be determined to pay off all scores at once. During the latter part of the English wars, the Duke had been comparatively scarcely at all engaged in them. His territories, therefore, had tasted of all the advantages of peace, and had flourished accordingly. The insurrection, of which I have just given an account, had ended, as we have seen, in his thoroughly subjecting the people of Bruges. He desired greatly to be able to do the same to Ghent; but, with a political patience, which entered largely into his cha-

racter, he awaited his opportunity. Disputes were continually arising on the subject of the privileges of the city—the Duke and his council endeavouring to contract, and the citizens to extend them. In nearly all the tumults, of which the reader has seen so much in this notice, between the Flemings and their rulers, the original cause has been attempts on the part of the latter to infringe upon the citizens' chartered privileges, especially with regard to taxation. But in no instance have we seen any thing approaching to the barefaced and arrogant assumption of power which Duke Philip now attempted. He was, on the face of the matter, utterly and grossly wrong from the first, as regarded right. But, alas! this was no question of right—he wished to assert *power*—he desired to assume a degree of arbitrary sway over the Gantois, to which he had no shadow of claim—he felt he was at present strong, and he determined to make the attempt.

He began by laying a tax upon salt, of his own authority, without consulting the estates. Ypres and Bruges obeyed without remonstrance; but Ghent not only protested against this tax, always an odious one, which they styled "a detestable invention of the Kings of France," but denied the right of the Duke to levy any taxes, without the consent of the estates of Flanders.

In the next year the Duke attempted another encroachment. He endeavoured to make an innovation with respect to the election of the magistrates of the city—the form of government of which was as old as

the time of Philip the Fair, King of France, who had subjected the Flemings. The manner of election, however, had varied, being more or less popular, according as the citizens or the Duke prevailed for the time being. It had latterly been customary for the Duke to name, as his officer, who was called the bailiff of the office, the same person whom the people had already chosen as deacon of the citizens. In the year above mentioned, however (1449), the Duke, being irritated at the refusal of the city to pay the *gabelle*, declared that he would no longer delegate his authority to a person elected by the citizens. This was against all the customs of the place; and, after a great deal of contest and mutual irritation, the people again prevailed.

At length, the Duke having collected strong forces in the towns around Ghent, stopped up the canals, declared the gabelle afresh, and added a tax upon wheat and moulture. The Gantois, as might be expected, refused to pay any of these imposts. Then the Duke took all powers from the magistrates established in his name, suppressed the functions of the sheriffs and bailiffs, and published throughout Flanders, the order not to obey the people of Ghent in any thing.

During some time matters remained in a most unsettled state. Some of the lower class of the people were instigated against their deacons and magistrates by the Duke himself; who refused to interfere, unless three of the citizens, who had been the most prominent

in resisting his exactions, should be given up to him. At last two of the chief nobles of Flanders persuaded these persons to yield themselves to the mercy of their sovereign, which they were promised, all but officially, should be extended to them. They went to him at Termonde, and knelt before him. Without any trial or investigation, he pronounced upon them, with his own lips, sentence of banishment forth of his dominions: on one, to a distance of twenty leagues for twenty years; on the second, to fifteen leagues for fifteen years; and, on the third, to ten leagues for ten years.

This detestable act of treachery drove the Gantois to fury. The Duke had, in the first instance, imposed upon them an unlawful tax, and then trepanned into his power the citizens who had stood up for their rights, and betrayed them in the meanest manner. Great tumults arose in Ghent: yet the people were still reluctant to drive matters to extremity. They were without magistrates since the renewal of the disputes with the Duke concerning the mode of election. It was impossible for things to go on in this way. They accordingly elected magistrates from the more moderate party, and sent deputies to the Duke, begging him to acknowledge them, and to replace his officers. The Duke refused to listen to any accommodation; and from this moment the violent party got the ascendant. The confraternity of the White Hoods re-appeared—the government was confided to three chiefs, called *Hooftmans*. A working mason, named Lievin Bone,

was appointed for the trades; Eberhard Botelaer for the weavers, and John Wilde for the citizens *.

Few things, I think, can be more mean and brutal than the Duke's conduct throughout the whole of this business. It is absolutely manifest, that the Gantois had, at this time, no sort of desire to rise. Indeed, at no time do we find them originating any of their many insurrections. Whatever extravagances, or atrocities, they may have run into, after the the conflict had arisen, they never *began* the contest. Their attacks were always in resistance of encroachment. These, indeed, they often carried to a deplorable length; but the examples of their rulers more than equalled whatever they did, bad as it might be.

But, in this instance, the Gantois were, beyond question, peacefully inclined. They, by no means, shewed their usual readiness to continue resistance beyond its strictly deserving that name. They only wanted *to be let alone.* The moderate party manifestly had the complete ascendancy; but the Duke felt his strength, and longed to break their power. To accomplish this end, he spared no means, however base, however cruel. He would not allow them to remain

* These were the three great divisions of the people of Ghent. There were fifty-two companies of trades—the weavers, cloth being the staple of the place, and, indeed, of all Flanders, had separate privileges. The citizens were those who came under neither of these heads. Their relative proportion may be judged of by the fact, that, under the form of government of twenty-six magistrates, ten were elected by the weavers, ten by the trades, and six by the citizens.

at peace, but goaded them into violence, that he might afterwards bring it against them. The whole of the horrors of the contest which followed rest with Philip the *Good.* He created that contest to make it the means of gratifying his lust of power. It did not arise naturally—*it was his doing.*

The disorders continued increasing for several months. The lower people had entirely possessed themselves of the government, and used it with the greatest intemperance. Executions, tortures, confiscations, banishments, occurred continually. This disorder, joined to the fear entertained of the Duke's power, prevented any other of the Flemish cities from joining Ghent. They would have been very willing to have done so, as far as regarded the gabelle, and the other taxes complained of; but the Duke contrived, by judicious management, to nip in the bud several alliances which the Gantois had on foot. They found themselves left to their own resources. The Duke's greatest fear was, that the King of France might support them. France was now become flourishing and powerful: not that the wars had ceased; but Normandy and Guienne had become united to the crown. The Duke, therefore, made representations to the King of the state of affairs in Flanders, begging him not to interfere, in case the malcontents should apply to him. The King of France promised him that he would not.

The Duke continued to collect his forces, determined not to come to open war with the Gantois till he was

able to crush them. Thus, during the whole year 1451, the Gantois continued their own masters; and it was not till after Easter, the year following, that open war broke out.

The first enterprise of note was the siege of Oudenarde by the Gantois. They were in number thirty thousand, well armed and equipped, and with a fine train of artillery. The Sire James de Lalaing commanded the garrison, and defended the place with great gallantry. The siege was pressed with vigour; and the defence was equally energetic. The wife of the Sire de Lalaing, and the other ladies of the town, assisted in the defence of the walls, by carrying up stones and ammunition in hods and baskets. Among the remarkable incidents of the siege, was a stratagem of the Gantois, to enlist the feelings of the Sire de Lalaing and of his lady against their duty. These noble persons were Hainaulters; and they had two young children at home. The Gantois procured two children of similar size and appearance; and, bringing them beneath the rampart, cried out to the Knight and his wife, that they had seized their children during an incursion into Hainault, and that they would put them to death, unless the town were surrendered. But the Sire de Lalaing only ordered his cannon to be fired upon the party.

As an episode to the siege of Oudenarde was that of Grammont; the circumstances of which shew what little difference there is between friend and foe for the unhappy persons whose country is the seat of war:—

Grammont was taken by a party of Gantois. The inhabitants met with little mercy at their hands, being faithful to the Duke of Burgundy. A party of the Duke's troops, under John de Croy, retook the place; and, notwithstanding the loyalty of the people, who themselves had applied to the Duke for succour, and had assisted in the Sire de Croy's attack, the town was pillaged by the Burgundian troops, even to the very churches; goods and merchandise were carried off by waggon loads; and several citizens were also taken to be held to ransom. Then, feeling they were not strong enough to hold the town, the Duke's forces set it on fire, and abandoned it. The next day, the Gantois returned, irritated at the inhabitants having supported the Burgundians, and gleaned this harvest-field of slaughter by sacking and burning what little of the place was left!

Meanwhile the Duke was assembling two armies, one on each side of the Scheldt. That under the command of his kinsman, the Count d'Etampes, was ready first, and set forward to the relief of Oudenarde. It would seem that the mode of making war had, in no degree, become more humane since the preceding century, as we have seen it represented in the former volumes: for, in a skirmish on crossing a small river running into the Scheldt, the Count's troops, tired of the length of the resistance which some peasants made, who had taken refuge in a church, set fire to it, and thus burned the post and the garrison together, to the number of more than two hundred.

The Count d'Etampes relieved Oudenarde after a very severe action, in which the Sire de Lalaing, and several other knights, were in the most imminent peril. The Gantois, however, were ultimately defeated, and retired to Ghent, with a loss of upwards of three thousand men. In their retreat, these "rude mechanicals" displayed a courage which excited the admiration even of their haughty opponents. At a stand which a body of them made near Ghent, one Cornelius Sneysson, the standard-bearer of the trade of the butchers, behaved with a gallantry most distinguished: being wounded in both legs, he fought upon his knees, holding the banner with one hand and striking with the other.

The reverse which the Gantois had received before Oudenarde, excited them against their *hooftmans*, as is usually the case with unsuccessful leaders of a popular insurrection. They were put to death, and five new ones named in their place, one for each

The war was now transferred to the gates of Ghent; where it was carried on with extreme ferocity and carnage. The Duke of Burgundy set the example of the most brutal bloodshed; for, being irritated at the loss, in open fight, of one of his best knights, he put to death all his prisoners, and published a reward for every Gantois, whom he caused to be beheaded as fast as they were brought in. The siege of Ghent was, however, impracticable. The immense circumference of the walls prevented it from being even invested; and

the Duke, in order not to waste his force, withdrew it from the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and contented himself with placing strong garrisons in the towns around.

The war continued with considerable vigour. The Duke was surrounded by a number of young knights, who burned to distinguish themselves, the peace which had preceded having hitherto withheld from them all opportunity. The Gantois, on the other hand, although much divided in their interior, and changing their chiefs continually, displayed the greatest courage in the face of the enemy, and had their full share of success in the skirmishes and engagements which almost daily took place. Besides the White-hoods there had arisen a similar confraternity called "Companions of the Green Tent," who mutually engaged to share all booty, and never to sleep beneath a roof so long as they should be out of the town. These companions were very bold in battle, but committed great ravages in the country.

Among a people so distracted as that of Ghent, it is clear that there could be no unity of opinion even upon a matter so important as that of peace. A body of men of which I have scarcely yet spoken, but which always possessed great influence in the Low Countries, the foreign merchants, endeavoured, as they frequently did, to interpose their good offices. They were currently called "the People of the Nations,"—for the Netherlands, Flanders especially, being at that time the great mart of Europe, merchants of all

countries flocked thither; not only for immediate commerce with the country, but to meet each other. These men could not but at all times suffer from war, which interrupted their business—though, perhaps, so much were they esteemed, it did not expose their persons or their goods to any great danger. We continually find this body mediating between the Flemish cities and their lord; and they strove to do so in this case. But as the Duke would hear only of unconditional submission, to which, in their turn, the Gantois would not listen, no negotiations for peace could be even begun; the ground on which to treat not being agreed upon by the parties.

Nothing can convey a stronger idea of the exceeding power of the Gantois, than the head they continued for so long a time to make, during this war, against the whole force of Burgundy. They encountered it in several pitched battles; in these, it is true, they were usually beaten, for they were not equal to cope with a regular army in the field, being comparatively unskilled in military matters. Their chief weapon was the pike, which they used with considerable adroitness and great courage: but the archers in the Duke's service nearly always caused their defeat; the Gantois, having but slight defensive armour, had no protection against their arrows. The gaps which the archers made in their ranks enabled the men-at-arms to pour in, against whom, without this previous attack, the long pikes of the Gantois were a very competent defence. It was in this manner that the action

before Oudenarde was decided: as also the battle of Rupelmonde, the first at which Charles the Bold was present, and where a favourite natural son of the Duke of Burgundy lost his life.

Meantime, the Gantois applied to the King of France, who sent ambassadors to try to bring about peace. But the two parties looked so directly at the opposite sides of the matter, that it was impossible to get them to agree—the Duke thinking only of the turbulence and insolence of the Gantois, and the Gantois of the encroachments and oppression of the Duke, the ambassadors could effect nothing.

In a skirmish which happened about this time, the Duke shewed his usual cruelty, in hanging all his prisoners. Some of them he offered to spare, but their hatred against his tyranny was such, that they rejected the condition which was imposed on their pardon—namely, to beg for mercy—they "dying for a good cause, as true martyrs."

The party in favour of peace having acquired the upper hand, after some reverses, and during the prevalence of an epidemic disorder, requested the King's ambassadors to return. They did so; and, in a great assembly of the citizens on the Friday's market-place (the usual place of rendezvous), there was a regular division on the question of "peace or war." Seven thousand were for peace; twelve thousand for war. The ambassadors adjourned the meeting till the next day, at which the war-party refused to attend. Those being for peace were thus unopposed, and at length

it was agreed that conferences should be opened at Lisle, and that there should be an armistice of six weeks.

The terms of peace offered were so hard, annulling as they did many of the most valuable privileges of the town, that the deputies of Ghent left Lisle before the conferences were finished, and the people rejected them with one voice. They prepared to renew the war; and, the Duke's troops being much scattered in consequence of the truce, they had, at first, very considerable success. They received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred English from Calais, and acquired several advantages over the Duke's forces.

The Sire de Blamont, Maréchal of Burgundy, commanded for the Duke at Courtnay, and his manner of making war was, probably, the most dreadful which that ravaged country had yet witnessed: for, not content with hanging all his prisoners, he announced to the inhabitants of the country, that those who were loyal to the Duke must retire into his fortresses; as he had determined not to leave one stone standing on another in the country—as the Gantois used the houses as shelter, and the churches as means of signals, by their bells. The peasants preferred trusting themselves to their countrymen, than to this barbarous foreigner; and, accordingly, they all retired into Ghent.

The war went on: there were new negotiations attempted at Bruges, but the parties could not agree better than before. The Gantois would not submit,

and the Duke was not strong enough to make them. To besiege their town with effect was impossible; but he could not even prevent their holding great part of the country. For the war was exorbitantly expensive to the Duke, and his army wasted rather than increased, as his need became the greater; and his extortions, to support his outlay, alienated men's minds.

At last, in the month of June, 1453, the Duke, after great efforts, collected an army sufficiently strong to take the field against the Gantois. He took several fortresses, one after another, putting the garrisons to death with the most unsparing cruelty. Before one of these the celebrated Sire de Lalaing was killed.

At last came the crisis which was to decide the fate of this long and singular war. The last fortress before Ghent, called Gavre, was now besieged. The commandant of the garrison, it would seem, had communications with the Burgundians. It was he, and some of the English auxiliaries, who betrayed the Gantois into the hands of the Duke. The commandant, Arnold Van Speek, went into the Duke's camp, under pretence of treating, and afterwards to Ghent, to excite the inhabitants to come out to the relief of Gavre. This was exactly what the Duke desired, and what could not but be fatal to the Gantois, who retained all their strength while they remained within their city and carried on a partizan warfare, but who could not compete with the Duke's disciplined forces in a pitched battle.

They came, however; and to the number of forty-

five thousand men. Every man between twenty and sixty turned out, and a great number of ecclesiastics joined them voluntarily.

The Gantois were completely routed. At the commencement of the action a waggon loaded with powder, whether from negligence or from treachery, blew up. It was in the midst of the artillery, between the ranks, and threw the army into irrecoverable confusion. The carnage was awful: the Duke's troops had orders to make no prisoners, and they killed every one they overtook. The Duke himself was in great peril from a desperate resistance of a body of about two thousand of the enemy, in a meadow on the banks of the Scheldt; and the Comte de Charolais was wounded in the foot with a pike. The victory, however, was complete. Nearly twenty thousand of the men of Ghent were slain, including about two hundred ecclesiastics.

The Duke shewed a moderation in the use of this victory which was not to be expected from the terrible manner in which he had conducted the war. He sent a summons to the city, saying that he would shew mercy, and would not impose worse conditions than those named at the conferences at Lisle*. With a

* They were as follows:—That the gate by which the Gantois went out to besiege Oudenarde should be closed every Thursday, the day of that enterprise.—That the gate by which they went out to fight their lord at Rupelmonde should be walled up for ever.—That the men of Ghent should never wear white hoods.—That the sheriffs should have jurisdiction over the citizens only when they lived in the city or suburbs: those who

few exceptions, including higher pecuniary penalties, the men of Ghent obtained these terms now.

On the 31st of July (1453) the ceremony of the surrender of the city took place. The Duke, accompanied by his son, and the chief officers of his army, advanced within half a league of the place. The Duke was mounted on the same charger he had rode on the day of battle, and which had received four wounds from the pikes of the Gantois, which were still visible. Archers, with bent bows, were drawn up on each side the road, and between them were two lines of men-at-arms. Through this street the sad procession

dwelt elsewhere to be subjected to the local magistrate.—That no one should be banished without the Duke's authority, and the reasons being declared to his grand bailiff.—That instead of electing their twenty-six magistrates, six by the citizens, ten by the weavers, and ten by the trades, they should be chosen without reference to trade or banner; the election to be made by four substantial persons named by the Duke, and four others chosen by the people, as in ancient times.—That six houses should be chosen, distant from one another, in which all the banners should be shut up in chests, with five keys; one to be kept by the grand bailiff, one by the first sheriff, one by the deacon of the trades, and the two others by two substantial persons chosen by the city.—That all the magistrates of the town, the deacons, &c., and two thousand inhabitants, should come, in their shirts, to the distance of half a league from Ghent, to beg mercy of the Duke, to say that they had wickedly and falsely revolted against him, and to supplicate his pardon.—That if, for the future, the Duke's officers should do anything deserving punishment, the sheriffs should take no cognizance of it, but the matter be referred to the Duke and his council.—That for the damage done to the Duke by this rebellion, the said men of Ghent should pay a sum of 250,000 reydders of gold.

of the Gantois advanced. The clergy came first, then the sheriffs, the hooftmans, and the deacons, bareheaded, in their shirts, without any other clothing than linen aprons, and with naked feet. After them came two thousand citizens, clothed in black, without girdles, and also barefooted. As soon as they could perceive the Duke, they threw themselves upon their knees, exclaiming—'Mercy to the people of Ghent!' The Chancellor then went forward to meet them, and rehearsed to them their faults, upbraiding them, and saying he did not know whether the Duke would pardon them. Again they cried out, 'Mercy on the people of Ghent!' They were then permitted to advance to the Duke, before whom they knelt again. The Abbot of St. Bavon then addressed the Duke, as spokesman for the city, in the most humble terms, begging forgiveness for the past, and promising submission for the future. The Duke answered—'Since I am asked for mercy, it will be found in me. To those who are good subjects, I shall be a good prince, and I shall never call to mind the injuries I have received.'

Then the banners of the city and of the trades were laid down, which clung closer than all to the hearts of the men of Ghent. They were given to Toison d'Or, who put them into a sack and carried them away.

I have now gone through, at some length, the history of Flemish insurrections under Philip the Good. I have done so both from its being less known to the general English reader than that of the part he bore in

the English wars, and from the light which it casts upon the habits of thought and action of that very singular race of men, the Flemings of the middle ages. So doing, however, has carried me into so much greater length than I anticipated, that I can afford no space to the remarks I would willingly append to the foregoing narrative, and shall be obliged to be brief in the remaining portion of this memoir.

In this last battle the Comte de Charolais, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bold, distinguished himself, first, by the exertions which he had made to be present at the battle, in spite of the *ruse* of the Duke to keep him from its dangers; and, secondly, from the bravery with which he had leaped after his father over the fossé into the field, in which the bravest of the Gantois had retired, and where they made the most desperate resistance.

The arms of the Duke under the Sire de Croy were alike successful in Luxemburg, where the fortress of Thionville had agreed to surrender at the end of ten months, unless assisted during that period. Every thing appeared to be prosperous; and the Court of Burgundy enjoyed its repose and leisure at Lisle amidst *fêtes* and tournaments, which were given in honour of that victory, which it was hoped had extinguished the civil wars of Flanders for ever.

The accounts which contemporary chroniclers give of these *fêtes* shew them to have been characterized by extraordinary magnificence. The tables might put modern confectioners to the blush, in the history which

is given of their decorations; amongst which were seen, rivers, rocks, fields, and castles, and, indeed, a fairy land, in pastry, while giants, elephants, wild boars, and other monsters assisted to amuse and astonish the guests.

During the period that Philip had been thus reducing the Flemish citizens to obedience, at the expense of so much treasure and blood, Constantinople had been taken by an assault of the Turks on the 29th of May, 1453. This victory of the Infidels had been characterized by every cruelty to the Christians, and by every indignity to the insignia of their religion.

Much blame had been cast upon the sovereigns of Europe for having permitted the Infidels to take so important a city; but Philip was free from this reproach, as, before his last war, he had sent the Sire de Croy to the Kings of France and Aragon to urge them to join him in efforts to save Constantinople.

During the continuance of the rejoicing for the victory of Gavre, an ambassador arrived from the Pope, claiming the aid of the Duke in revenging the insult which the Christians had received from the Infidels; and Philip made one of his *fêtes* conducive to this purpose by introducing a lady as the prisoner of a giant, who claimed the assistance of all true knights to release her from the captivity of the Turks. The king at arms then introduced a pheasant, superbly ornamented with precious stones; and the Duke and his knights all vowed, by "God, the Ladies, the Virgin Mary, and the Pheasant," to avenge the Holy Church against

the unfaithful, and to resist the "damnable enterprises" of the grand Turk.

This vow, though made in the midst of merriment and rejoicing, was, nevertheless, meant to be kept as seriously as though it had been breathed at the altar; and the Duke prepared to attend the Diet of Ratisbon to arrange the crusade with the other monarchs.

Previous to his departure for Germany, however, he wished to settle the marriage of the Comte de Charolais with Isabelle de Bourbon; and he effected this marriage as far as the betrothal, in spite of this Princess having been previously affianced to the son of the Count St. Pol, and in spite of his Duchess's wish and intrigues to accomplish a union between her son and the daughter of the Duke of York—a marriage to which the Prince himself was much more inclined than to that proposed by his father.

The way in which Philip accomplished his purpose is very characteristic of his own determined character, as well as of the despotic character of the sovereigns of the age. Sending for his son, after informing him that all his alliances with England had been merely political, and had never arisen from inclination, he finished by saying, "If I find that you ever accomplish or even wish for this alliance, I will banish you for ever from my territory, and you shall never inherit the lands and honours I possess: and should this bastard son of mine, who is present, or any other person, advise you to an English alliance, I will forthwith order them to be sewn up in a sack, and have them thrown into the river."

During his progress into Germany, the Duke was received every where with the greatest honours. The cities through which he passed defrayed his expenses. The Dukes of Austria and Bavaria sent to invite him to pass through their estates, and furnished his *cortège* with horses, arms, and provisions:—in short, every where his fame had preceded him, and he received the treatment due to a conqueror. In spite of these honours, however, with which the Duke was received, his subjects became alarmed at the length of his absence, and many imagined him to be either dead or detained by the Emperor, as our Richard had been before. He was himself anxious to return, and, at length, entered Burgundy, which had for so long a period been deprived of his presence.

Here he had to encounter a violent sedition which had arisen in Besançon, but which was quelled by the Marshal of Burgundy. During his stay in his French estates, Philip sought an interview with the Duke of Orleans on the subject of the intended crusade, but he found the French too much occupied with their internal dissensions to enter very readily into the scheme. Nevertheless, he received permission to raise money and men within the states of France, to aid in the project, but found much difficulty in availing himself of the privilege.

The Duke now turned his attention towards his estates in the Low Countries, where, for the first time for so many years, tranquillity at length reigned. The vacancy, however, of the Bishopric of Utrecht, in

which Philip wished to install his bastard son David, and had for that purpose procured the Pope's bull appointing him to that see, while the canons and other ecclesiastics had elected Ghibert de Brederode, had well nigh disturbed this tranquillity, and did involve the Duke in the necessity of raising an army, and laying siege to Dewenter, before he could accomplish his purpose. The Duke was now, however, too powerful to be withstood, and Ghibert was compelled to resign the bishopric in favour of David.

More serious affairs, however, than these soon engaged the attention of Philip, and called him once more to interfere in the affairs of France. The differences between the King of France and the Dauphin had, for a long period, occasioned the absence of the latter from the court of his father, until, at length, the King determined to invade him in his own territories. The Dauphin took flight, and sought refuge with his uncle the Duke of Burgundy, who received him as the eldest son of his sovereign lord, and, providing him with a household worthy of his distinguished rank, became, though with little success, the mediator between him and the King his father.

During this period (1457), and while the Duke was sheltering the Dauphin from the anger of the King of France, differences arose between the Duke and his own son, the Comte de Charolais. Indeed, the court which was paid to the Dauphin by the Sire de Croy, and other seigneurs of Burgundy, was one of the reasons which tended to nourish the discontent of the Comte

against his father. This was further increased by the report, that it was the intention of the Duke to dismember his territory of several valuable seigneuries in favour of the Sires de Croy, de Lannoy, and others of his favourites. It is curious that this difference between the Duke and his son should have been arranged by the Dauphin, who had fled to the Court of Burgundy, from the same kind of dispute with his own father.

The reception which the Duke had given to the Dauphin occasioned great anger on the part of the King of France and his counsellors; indeed, so much so, that the latter persuaded their master that it behoved him, for his honour, to punish the Duke, and to recover his son out of his hands. This advice was so far followed, that the garrisons of all the fortresses on the frontiers of the territories of the Duke were strengthened, and many other preparations for war made on the part of France. The Duke could not see these preparations for hostility, and remain quiet: he, therefore, augmented his army, and took every necessary step to repel force by force, should the King think proper to pursue the advice of his counsellors to its extremity. An approaching war with France made the Duke desirous of completing his reconciliation with the Gantois, which he accordingly did, and, making a triumphant entry into Ghent, was joyously welcomed by the citizens, who seemed determined to blot out the memory of their former rebellions by the magnificence of his reception.

In the meantime the true friends of the Duke began to look upon the long residence of the Dauphin in the territories of Philip with a jealous eye; and it began to be generally believed, that many of the emissaries of France were but spies of Charles, who had formed the intention of subverting the power of the Duke.

It is certain that the King had been very anxious to enter into treaties with the old allies of Philip, and had, by these means, partly succeeded in detaching from him the Emperor, the Houses of Austria and Saxony, the greatest part of the Electoral Princes, and others, who had hitherto been powerful friends of the Duke.

In addition to this it was currently reported that the secret conditions of the marriage between Margaret of Anjou and the King of England were the intended partition of the estates of Burgundy, in which England was to have Holland and Zealand. The disrespectful conduct of the King's advisers to the ambassadors of the Duke confirmed these reports, and tended still further to widen the breach between the Duke and the King. These differences were in vain attempted to be arranged at the Council of Mantua; but the preference evidently given by the Pope to the Duke, and the extent of his influence, rather aggravated than pleased the King, who was still further incensed by the continued residence of the Dauphin in Flanders, and by the Council which the Duke had instituted to render his government independent of the Parliament of Paris.

The judgments of this Council were, unfortunately, guided by caprice and violence, rather than by justice. It was by this Council, which was formed principally of inquisitors, that the Vaudois, the name then given to heretics, were persecuted; and by which so many of them were destroyed during the years 1458 and 1459, particularly among the inhabitants of Arras, where many noble and wealthy citizens were sacrificed either to cupidity or bigotry. At length the outcry against these sacrifices became so general, that the Duke, in spite of his wish to do every thing for the support of the Christian faith, put a stop to them, though not till the Parliament of Paris had interfered. These proceedings against the Vaudois stained the government of the Duke with just imputations of cruelty. The victims were first tortured into confession, and then put to death, and their estates confiscated. These tortures were such that human nature shudders at their recital, and the history of these two years is equal in its details of cruelty to any that the Inquisition can present. The feet of the victims were burned; boiling oil and vinegar were poured upon their wounds; some were dragged by the hair of their heads and trodden under foot; in short, every ingenuity seemed to be exercised to devise new cruelties and to invent new tortures. At length the Parliament interfered, and many incarcerated victims were set at liberty. The mischief, however, did not stop here; for the relations of those who had suffered demanded restitution of their estates, and satisfaction against those by whom they had been

so unjustly condemned. The process which this demand occasioned lasted thirty years, when in 1491 the Parliament condemned the Duke of Burgundy, the Sire de Saveuse, the Bishop of Baruth, and others, to restore all the estates, which had been confiscated, to the rightful heirs. At the period of this judgment Philip of Burgundy had been dead twenty-five years, and his race extinct. So tardy is justice when its progress is encumbered by the technical details of the law.

The project of war, however, between France and Burgundy proceeded no farther than the preparations: both the King and the Duke were too desirous of peace; and much as Charles regretted the absence of the Dauphin from the court, and incensed as he was at his residence under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy, he valued the peace and welfare of his subjects too much to risk them by any war that could have its origin in his own private feelings.

From all accounts it appears that the King was sincere in his wishes and expressed intentions towards his son, and that there were no just grounds for those suspicions and misgivings of the Dauphin, which kept him fifteen years absent from his father and his court.

At length Charles was seized with severe illness, during which all his ministers, even those who were the most inimical to the Dauphin, determined upon effecting a reconciliation. This determination, however, came too late, for the King's suspicions of poison kept

him so long without food, that when at length it was determined to force some liquid nourishment between his teeth, his stomach had lost its power of action, and he died in July, 1461.

The Dauphin, now Louis XI., immediately entered France, but, being uncertain of his reception, he engaged the Duke to accompany him with a considerable force. Finding, however, that he was every where peaceably received and acknowledged, he desired the Duke to dismiss his retainers. At his levee, to shew his sense of the Duke's kindness, he determined to receive the honour of knighthood from the hands of Philip. After this ceremony, the Duke, on his knees, demanded his pardon for the ministers of the late King; which Louis, however, would not grant without reserving the number of eight for punishment; nor would he give the names of these eight. The Duke now accompanied the King to Paris, and lived in a style of splendour that surprised the world. Far and near, people came to view his palace, which he had caused to be superbly decorated, and he was acknowledged by all to be the most superb Prince of his time.

He began, however, to sympathise with the late King in his differences with his son, for the Comte de Charolais formed alliances and connexions with England quite contrary to his wishes; and acted in all the affairs of that country so as to thwart the political schemes of his father. A severe illness, which seized the Duke at Brussels, seemed to call forth all the affec-

tion of the Comte; and his truly filial attention during the whole period of this affliction effected, for the time, a complete reconciliation between the father and son. At this period an attempt to poison the Comte de Charolais by Coustan, the Duke's favourite valet-de-chambre, was discovered and prevented, and Coustan and his accomplices given up by the Duke to the vengeance, or rather to the justice of the Comte.

At this period differences began to arise between the King and the Duke and his son, which occasioned an embassy on the part of the Duke, in which the Sire de Croy found it necessary to remind the King of his obligations to the Duke. Having discovered a treaty carrying on between the Comte de Charolais and the Duke de Bretagne, Louis deprived the Comte of the pension which he had formerly given him, and of the government of Normandy, with which he had been invested at the commencement of his reign.

However Louis at first appeared sensible of the immense obligations which he owed to the Duke, Philip had soon reason to fear that they would not prevent that monarch from adopting means to lessen his power; and the Duke was warned by the Sire de Croy that the King had only reconciled himself with all the neighbouring princes for the purpose of attacking him the more securely, although this reconciliation had been effected through the means of the Duke himself. At length these differences between the King and the Duke, particularly on account of the arrest of the Bastard of Rubempré, arose to such a

height, that the Comte de Charolais would not trust himself in the power of the King, and Louis sent a solemn embassy of remonstrance to the Duke.

In this embassy the Duke took a high tone of independence, and Pierre de Goux, by his order, represented to the ambassadors of Louis that, 'although he owed the King allegiance for Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders, that he held the Duchies of Brabant, Luxemburg, Lorraine, and many other powerful seigneuries, only of God.'

To this the Chancellor of France angrily replied—'Il n'est pourtant pas Roi;' which so angered the Duke, that, elevating his voice, he exclaimed, 'Je veux bien, que tout le monde sache que si j'eusse voulu, j'aurais été Roi,' and he abruptly terminated the audience, and dismissed the ambassadors with a promise of a written reply.

After this embassy the Comte de Charolais and his friends began more than ever to mistrust De Croy and De Lannoy, with other advisers of the Duke, and to consider them so much the friends of the French King, that he determined to remonstrate with his father upon the subject. This interview was rendered affecting by the paternal and filial love which were exhibited on each side; and the father and son parted with promises, on one side, that nothing should be done to injure the future interest of the Burgundian territories, and, on the other, of duty and filial obedience. A vain attempt was now made to reconcile the Comte de Charolais with De Croy, but the pride of the one, and the ob-

stinacy of the other, rendered such a reconciliation impossible.

About this time the health of the Duke became so enfeebled, that towards the month of March, 1464, he fell so seriously ill, that his life was despaired of, and the Comte de Charolais, calling his partisans together, almost assumed the reins of government, by sending orders to all the towns and cities, desiring them to receive new captains and governors. This was the more easily effected from the absence of De Croy, and from the Comte's having only his nephew, Quievrain, to deal with. The Duke, however, suddenly rallied, and during his temporary convalescence, the Comte, profiting, they say, by the feebleness of his father, procured the consent of the Duke to his government of his estates. The Sire de Quievrain, however, assembled the council, and obtained from the Duke a revocation of the authority which he had the evening before bestowed upon his son. Upon this the anger of the Comte burst forth, and calling together those of his party, he publicly declared the Sire de Croy, his relatives and attendants, enemies of the state. Upon this the old Duke became so angry with his son, that he determined to punish him, and actually seized a weapon himself to carry his threat into execution. Overpowered, however, by the entreaties of the Duchess de Bourbon and other ladies of his court, as well as by his own feebleness, his anger subsided, he pardoned his son, and from this moment his reign was virtually finished.

It was for the purpose of accomplishing his scheme of revenge against the French King, Louis, that the Comte de Charolais was so anxious to become the master of his father's dominions; and no sooner did he feel possessed of this power, than he joined the league of the Princes, called the League for the Public Good, against the King, and marched with an army into France, with the determination to take Paris. The King, unloved as he was by the peers and princes of his realm, does not appear to have been so unpopular among the rest of his subjects; for, by the prudence of his conduct, and the activity of his measures, he, at first, bade fair to dissipate the storm which his own conduct had raised against him. The Duke de Bourbon and other chiefs entered into treaties with him, and the Comte de Charolais found it impossible to corrupt the people of Paris.

The armies of the King and of the Comte met at Montlheri, where a battle took place, in which the left wing of the King's armies was driven back by the Comte, while the other divisions of his own troops were entirely routed by the French. So completely dispersed were the Burgundian troops, that Charles held a council in the night, surrounded by the bodies of the slain, and debated upon the prudence of an immediate retreat, which was opposed only by the Sire de Contay, who urged such cogent reasons against it, that Charles consented to remain, and was much astonished and delighted the next morning to find that the King himself had retreated, and had left him

master of the field of battle. So proud was the Comte of this victory, that it is said to have engendered that boldness, presumption, and obstinacy which characterised his future life.

The blood that was shed at this battle so disgusted the Duke de Berri with the war, that, although the League had been commenced for his interests, he would willingly have dissolved it, and have made peace with his brother. This vacillating conduct angered the Comte de Charolais, and was soon overruled by the accession which the army received by the arrival of the Duke of Calibria, and other Italian princes. The army now marched towards Paris, and regularly invested the city, in the hopes of inducing the King to give them battle; for, being upwards of fifty thousand strong, the allied princes had little doubt of victory.

The King was, however, too astute a general to run this risk; but the impatience of his disposition inducing him to go Rouen, to ascertain the reason that the supplies of men and arms came so slowly from Normandy, the city had well nigh been delivered into the hands of the Prince by treachery. This was, however, prevented by the return of the King.

The policy of Louis was, to treat with the combined nobles and princes, and to sow the seeds of discord and distrust in the League; and in this he so well succeeded, that at length the Comte de Charolais was as glad to make peace as the King and the Parisians. A treaty was accordingly entered into, by which the King acceded to most of the demands of the nobles. His brother, the Duke of Berri, was invested with

Normandy; and the Comte obtained the cities of Somme, Amiens, Saint Quentin, Corbie, Abbeville the county of Ponthieu, and the country of Vimeu to enjoy during the lives of himself and successor, unless redeemed by the sum of 2000 guilders of gold. In addition to this, Boulogne, Guines, Roye, Perronne, and Montdidier, were settled upon him in perpetuity.

During the period of his absence, the Liegeois, who disliked the Comte, had taken arms against the House of Burgundy; and, although this sedition had been quelled by the steps taken by the old Duke, the Comte's presence was become very necessary in his own dominions. After having signed a treaty of peace with the Liegeois, he joined the Duke at Brussels, who rejoiced exceedingly at his presence, although by this time his faculties were too much impaired to comprehend the events which had occasioned his absence.

In spite of the treaty, however, the affairs of France were far from being arranged. The King drove the Duke de Berri from Normandy, and violated many other conditions of the treaty, both with his brother and the other princes of the league. The assistance of the Burgundians was again required; but another and still more serious rebellion of the Liegeois gave the Comte full occupation for himself and his troops. He found it necessary to lay siege to Dinard; and the inhabitants of this city were so insolent and obstinate in their defence, that the Duke and his son swore to rase the city to the ground, and sow the site on which it had stood with salt, after the manner of the ancients.

The Liegeois having sent off an army to the assistance of Dinard, the city was taken by assault, and delivered up to pillage. The Comte immediately marched his army to meet the Liegeois, with whom he concluded a second treaty of peace, and from thence went to meet an embassy from the King of France, to the members of which he gave any thing rather than a pacific reception.

An event was now, however, about to take place, which was to give the Comte full control over the dominions of Burgundy. Another access of apoplexy attacked the Duke, and a few days reduced him to the last extremity. An express was despatched to the Comte de Charolais, at Ghent, who was so anxious to see his father previous to his death, that he set off immediately, and in such haste, that his attendants had not sufficient time to accompany him.

The Comte arrived at Bruges about the middle of the day of the 15th of July, 1467. The moment he alighted from his horse, he ascended to the chamber of the Duke, who had already lost the power of recognition and of speech. The Comte threw himself on his knees, weeping, and exclaimed, while his tears almost choked his utterance, "Oh! my father, give me your blessing, and if I have ever offended you, pardon me now." The Duke turned his eyes towards his son, and the hand which the Comte held between his own seemed to give him a gentle pressure, in sign of the recognition of his presence. A few hours after this he breathed his last. The moment that he was dead the Comte threw himself upon the body in despair; he wrung his hands, and wept with agony, and dis-

played a grief so violent and sincere, that those who knew the general hardness of his heart, and how inaccessible it was to human feeling, were astonished at a display of sensibility so entirely unexpected.

Thus died Philip, commonly called the Good. He had been the first prince who had completely reconciled the Gantois and the rest of the Flemish cities to the House of Burgundy, and had put a stop to that cruel warfare which had for so many years deluged the country with blood. He had not only kept his own dominions at peace for a long period, but, by his influence, had greatly conduced to the preservation of peace in other parts of Europe. By this means he had rendered himself respected both by his own subjects, and by the neighbouring states, and had, in a great measure, obliterated the recollection of the cruelties which characterized the early part of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, the Comte de Charolais, whose accession to his dominions was viewed with terror by every class of his subjects, excepting by his own immediate favourites, and by those who expected an increase of power or of wealth by his accession to the dukedom, and who was fated to be the last of this dynasty of the Dukes of Burgundy.

Charles the Bold, on his accession to the dukedom, found it in the enjoyment of the utmost prosperity. The power of Burgundy was felt and acknowledged throughout Europe; England courted its alliance—France feared its enmity. It is not our province here to give any detailed account of the events which, in

the short space of eight years, reduced the dukedom from this pinnacle of its prosperity to the state in which we find it at the commencement of the succeeding narrative. Suffice it to say, that during the first six years after the death of Philip, victory still continued to crown the arms of Burgundy with a success that contributed to keep up the influence of the Duke's power in Europe; and he had at length succeeded in forming such a league with England against France, that, had he been but true to himself, would most probably have led to the destruction of the power of this hated rival. At this period some minor quarrel about the Bishopric of Cologne induced him to lay siege to the small town of Nuz, which, to the surprise of all Europe, and to the ultimate discomfiture of the Duke, maintained an obstinate resistance for nearly a whole year, and even then Charles was fain to raise the siege and march off, without having accomplished the object for which it had been undertaken. This siege was the main cause of the downfall of Charles; it wasted his army so as to prevent his fulfilling his treaty with the English, it lessened him in the eyes of Europe, and it called into play that obstinacy and pertinacious adherence to his own opinion, which was the bane of his character and fortune, and which ultimately led to the ruin of his hopes, to his discomfiture as a general, and to that premature fate, which is the subject of the following pages.

The Last Days of Charles the Bold.

THE

LAST DAYS OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

CAP. I.

HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, MAKING WAR AGAINST THE SWISS, WAS ROUTED BY THEM, NEAR GRANSON.

A.D. 1476. NOW, the Duke of Burgundy, having conquered all the Duchy of Lorraine, and received from the King* St. Quentin, Han, and Bohain, was treating with the King for an interview; and, on this matter, messengers went and came. And the said Duke desired to rest his army, which was sore travailed, as much on account of Nuz, as of the short war they had had in Lorraine. [1] And the rest he desired to send into garrison, in some places of the county of Romont, as in the towns of Berne and Fribourg; against which he wished to make war, as much from their having made it against him, when he was before Nuz, and for their having assisted in taking from him the county of Ferrete, as for their having deprived the Count of Romont of part of his lands.

The King pressed him very much to hold the aforesaid interview with him, and to leave in peace those poor people of Switzerland, and to rest his

* Louis XI.

army. The said Swiss, finding him so near them, sent to him an embassy, and offered to restore what they had taken from the said Count of Romont. This Count, on the other hand, solicited him to come and help him in person. The Duke, leaving aside the sage counsel, and that which (to many persons) seemed the best, seeing the season, and the state in which his army was, determined to go against them. And between him and the King was an agreement, that, with regard to Lorraine, they should not enter into debate.

The Duke set off from Lorraine, with his army sore travailed and weary, and entered into Burgundy; where the ambassador of those old leagues of Germany, who are called Swiss, came to him again, making greater offers than before. And, besides the restitution, they offered him to renounce all their alliances which might be against his wish, and especially that of the King; and to become his allies, and to serve him with six thousand armed men, with scant payment, against the King, whenever he should require them. But the Duke would give ear to nothing: to this his evil fortune led him. All the places, which in that country are called the New Alliances, the towns of Basle, and Strasburg, and other imperial towns, which lie along the course of the Rhine, (because they were formerly enemies of the Swiss and allied to Duke Sigismond of Austria,)—all these places now allied themselves with the Swiss; and made an alliance for ten years, and a peace also, with the Duke Sigismond. And the said alliance was formed, by the means, and at the expense, of the King. And this he did at the time when the county of Ferrete was removed out of the hands of the said Duke, and Archambaut,

who was governor of the country for the Duke, was put to death at Basle. [2] This Archambaut was the cause of this mishap, which was a very great one to the Duke, for all his other evils sprang from it. A prince ought to keep his eye sharply on the governors whom he places in countries recently annexed to his dominions; for, instead of treating the subjects with great gentleness, and good justice, and doing better by them than had been done before, this man did entirely the contrary. For he treated them with great violence and great rapine: and evil came to him for it, and to his master, and to many a man of worth. This alliance, which the King had brought about, turned to his great profit, and more than most people know of: and it seems to have been one of the wisest things the King ever did, during his time, and of the most damage to all his enemies: for, once the Duke of Burgundy was defeated, there was no one who dare hold up his head against the King, or contradict his will.

After the Duke of Burgundy had taken from the Swiss envoys all hope of being able to come to agreement with him, they returned to inform their people, and to prepare for their defence. The Duke drew his army towards the Pays de Vaud in Savoy, which the said Swiss had taken from Monseigneur de Romont, as it is said. And he took three or four places, which belonged to Monseigneur de Chateauguion, which the Swiss held: they defended them but ill. And from thence he went and laid siege to a place called Granson, which also belonged to the said Lord of Chateauguion. And the Swiss had seven or eight hundred chosen men there—and they determined to defend it well. The Duke had a pretty large army;

for people were continually coming to him from Lombardy; the subjects of this house of Savoy. His artillery was very numerous and good, and his whole expedition was conducted with great pomp, that he might make display before the ambassadors who came to him from Italy and Germany. And he had with him his finest jewels and plate, and other provision, very largely. And he had great fantasies in his head about the Duchy of Milan, where he expected to have some intelligences.

When the Duke had besieged the said town of Granson, and fired against it for some days, the place surrendered, and all the garrison, at discretion. [3] He put them all to death.

The Swiss had assembled, not in great numbers, (for their territories do not furnish many men, and still less then than now, when many have left labour to become men of war,)—and of their allies they had few with them; for they were obliged to hasten forward to relieve the place. And when they were in the field they learned the death of their people.

The Duke of Burgundy, against the opinion of those from whom he asked advice, determined to go and meet them, at the entrance of the mountains, where they still were: the which was very much to his disadvantage; for he was very advantageously placed to wait for them, and was enclosed by his artillery and a part of a lake; and there was no likelihood that they would have been able to do him hurt. He had sent an hundred archers to guard a certain pass at the entrance of the mountain; and he put himself into march, and the Swiss met the greater part of his army while it was still on the plain.

The foremost ranks thought to return to join the

others; but the inferior people, who were behind, thinking that these fled, took to flight themselves; and, little by little, the army began to retire towards the camp, some doing very well their devoir. To make short of it, when they came to their position, they did not offer to defend themselves, but every one took to flight. And the Swiss won the Duke's camp and artillery, and all the tents and pavilions of him and his people (of which they were a great number), and other infinite riches; for they saved nothing but their own bodies. And all the great rings and jewels of the Duke were lost. But of people, for this time, he lost only seven men at arms. All the rest fled, and he also. It might much more justly be said of him, that he lost honour and substance on that day, than of the King John of France, who valiantly was taken at the battle of Poitiers.

This was the first evil fortune that ever befell this Duke in all his life. Of all his other enterprises, he had either the honour or the profit. What evil befell him this day, from having acted of his own head, despising counsel! What evil befell his house in consequence! and what a state is it in now! and likely to continue in! How many people became his enemies from it, and declared themselves, who the day before were temporising with him, and pretending to be his friends! And from what quarrel did this war begin?—It was for a cart-load of sheepskins, which the Count of Romont took from a Swiss as he passed through his domain! If God had not abandoned the said Duke, it is not likely that he would have put himself in peril for so small a matter; seeing the offers that were made to him, and with what sort of people he was to contend; among whom he could make no

acquisition, nor gain any glory: for the Swiss were not esteemed then as they are at present; and nothing could be poorer than they were. Indeed, one of the first ambassadors that they had sent to the Duke, had said to him, in making their remonstrances, to deter him from this war,—that he could gain nothing against them, for their country was very sterile and poor; and that they had no good prisoners; [4] and, that he believed that the spurs and bits of the Duke's army were worth more money than all that those of his country could pay, if they were taken.

To revert to the battle:—The King was soon informed of what had happened, for he had many spies and messengers in every country; and he had great joy of it: and the only thing of which he was sorry, was the small number of people that was killed. And the said King was, at this time, at Lyons, that he might the more often hear the news of these matters, and give remedy according to the events in the affairs in which the Duke was moving: for the King was wise and prudent, and feared lest by force the Swiss should be compelled to attach themselves to the Duke. For the Duke disposed of the powers of the House of Savoy as though he were its head. The Duke of Milan was his ally. The King Reynier of Sicily would also have placed his kingdom at the disposal of Charles. To all of these powers the King sent, for the Duchess of Savoy was his sister, and Reynier was his uncle; but this latter King would hardly listen to his messengers.

The King also sent to all the cities of the German League, although with great difficulty, on account of the roads; and for this purpose, mendicants, pilgrims, and such-like people were employed. These cities

replied proudly to the King's message—saying, 'Tell the King, that if he does not declare himself against the Duke, we will declare against him.' But to do this the King was as yet too wary. It was never his policy to declare war until the last extremity, or until he held the power of conquest firmly in his own grasp, and feared even yet that intelligence of his various negociations with these different countries might reach the ears of the Duke, so cautious were the movements of Louis.

CAP. II.

HOW AFTER THE ROUT OF GRANSON, THE DUKE OF MILAN, THE KING REYNIER OF SICILY, THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY, AND OTHERS, ABANDONED THEIR ALLIANCES WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

We may learn from the result of this single battle how mutable are the affairs of monarchs, however prosperous they may appear to be. This one reverse entirely changed the fortunes, and appeared to have lowered the pride and the courage of the Duke, at the same time that it alienated from him his best friends; while the conduct of the King of France, under circumstances so auspicious to the increase of his own power, forms a model of prudence.

The event of this battle emboldened the secret enemies of the Duke to declare themselves openly; it induced his professed friends to throw off their alliance, and openly to seek that of his great opponent, the King of France; but, above all, it appeared to have effected a change in the nature of his own disposition, for, contrary to his custom, he sent the Seigneur de Contay to the King, humbly praying him to loyally adhere to his truce, excusing himself for not having met the King at Auxerre, agreeably to his appointment, and offering to meet him there or at any other place, at the pleasure of the King.

The King received the Seigneur dé Contay gra-

ciously, and promised all that he required; for it did not yet seem to him the time to do otherwise, for he well knew the loyalty of the subjects of the Duke of Burgundy, and wished to see the end of the adventure, without openly declaring himself for either party. The caution of the King, however, did not influence his subjects, for the ears of the Seigneur de Contay were assailed in all quarters by the songs of the people vaunting the praises of the conquerors and the folly of the vanquished.

The moment that the news of this defeat was spread abroad and reached the ears of the Duke of Milan, he rejoiced greatly thereat, although he was himself an ally of the Duke; for he had made this alliance out of fear, from Charles having so great power in Italy.

Immediately upon receiving intelligence of the Duke of Burgundy's mischance at Granson, the Duke of Milan sent an ambassador to Louis, King of France, offering to the King one hundred thousand ducats, if he would agree to make neither peace nor truce with the Duke of Burgundy. Louis refused the money (a rare circumstance in those days, when the highest as well as the lowest were influenced by such means), but agreed to renew the alliance between them.

The King Reynier, who, in consequence of the wrongs done him by his nephew, the King of France, had determined to make the Duke of Burgundy his heir,—and who had proceeded so far in this negociation, that the Seigneur de Chateau-guion, with others, was on the point of taking possession of Provence for his master, Charles,—on the report of this news, also broke off his treaty with the Duke, and renewed his alliance with the King of France.

Another misfortune, arising to the Duke from this

defeat, was, that the Duchess of Savoy, who had long been at variance with the King of France, her brother, now likewise sent ambassadors to his coûrt, secretly to treat for a renewal of his alliance. This was known to Philip de Comines, although the Duchess, imitating her brother in his caution, was willing to wait to see what would be the further fortunes of the Duke before she declared her intentions publicly.

The powers of Germany, on all sides, began to de clare themselves against the Duke; and the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Frankfort, and many others, renewed their ancient alliances, and commenced new ones, against the power of Charles, and appeared to think there was merit in doing him evil turns.

The spoils of the defeated army greatly enriched the hitherto poor Swiss; who, and especially the least informed among them, were quite ignorant of the value of the plunder which had fallen into their hands. One of the richest pavilions that had ever been seen was cut into many pieces and parted in shares. There were also sold dishes and ewers of solid silver for two pieçes of silver coin of little value, supposing them to be made of pewter. Charles's great diamond, [5] supposed to be the largest known in Christendom, to which was attached a large aad valuable pearl, was seized by a Swiss, who first replaced it in its case, and threw it afterwards under a charidt, then sought it again, and offered it to a priest for a florin. The priest, as ignorant as the peasant, sent it to the Lords (Seigneurs), who, equally unconscious of its great value, purchased it of him for three franks. They took likewise three rubies, which, from their matching each other, were called the 'Three Brothers;' likewise another great ruby, which was called 'La Halle;' and

another, which had been named the 'Ball of Flanders,' (all the largest and purest jewels that had ever been known) and many other great spoils: which afterwards led the Swiss to the knowledge of the value of money; for the worth and estimation in which, from this time forth, they were held by the King, and the good that he did to them, caused a great influx of money into their country. All the ambassadors that they sent to the King received from him great gifts, both of money and plate; and by these means he satisfied them for not having declared himself for them; sending them home well content with full purses and clothed with silk. He likewise promised to them pensions, which he afterwards paid, but not before he had seen the result of the second battle; and promised them forty thousand Rhenish florins every year, twenty thousand for the cities, and the remaining twenty thousand for those individuals who governed the cities, either by their rank or influence; and it is supposed, from this first battle of Granson to the death of the King Louis, that the said cities and individuals had received from the King full a million of Rhenish florins. In this statement, Philip de Comines means only the four cities of Berne, Lucerne, Friburg, Zurich, and their Cantons, which are their mountains.

CAP. III.

HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY WAS AGAIN DEFEATED BY THE SWISS NEAR THE TOWN OF MORAT.

THE Duke of Burgundy now set himself to work to collect forces from all sides; and in three weeks had assembled a great number of those who had deserted him in the day of battle. His grief and shame, however, at his defeat, occasioned him great illness during his sojourn in Lorraine; and it is supposed his reason and understanding never quite recovered the effects of this event. Of this new army and its numbers, Philip de Comines speaks from the report which the Prince of Tarentum made of it to King Louis. This prince, about a year previously, had arrived at the court of the Duke, hoping to form an alliance with his daughter. In this expedition the King of Naples, his father, had spared nothing, either in his suite or accoutrements, that could make him travel and appear like the son of a king. The Duke of Burgundy, however, dissimulated with him in this matter, having other views for his daughter, and being actually in treaty with the Duchess of Savoy for her son. Upon this the said Prince, known as Don Frederic of Arragon and those of his counsel, discontented with the delays, sent to demand a safe conduct from the King of France to pass through his kingdom, that he might return to his father, who had sent for him. This was most willingly granted by the King, who saw in this departure of the

Prince, a diminution of the power and credit of the Duke of Burgundy. Nevertheless, before the return of this messenger, many of the Swiss allies had already assembled and drawn near to the Duke; nor was it till the evening before the battle that the Prince took his departure according to the commands of his father; for at the first battle he had displayed himself a valiant man on the side of the Duke. It is said that the Prince was counselled to this departure by the Archbishop of Vienna, who is supposed to have prognosticated the defeat of the Duke, and had actually written into Italy the results of both the battles several days before they had taken place.

As before stated, at the departure of the Prince, the allies had already assembled near enough to the Duke with the intent to give him battle, as they went to raise the siege which the Duke had laid to Morat, a small town near Berne, belonging to Monseigneur de Romont.

The said army of allies consisted of thirty-one thousand infantry, well armed and chosen, as De Comines learned from those who were there; to wit— eleven thousand spearsmen, ten thousand halberdiers, ten thousand arquebusses, and four thousand horsemen. The whole of the allies were not yet assembled, and these are the only troops that were present at this battle, but they sufficed well.

Monseigneur of Lorraine also arrived there with a small company, which was well for him afterwards; for the Duke of Burgundy was in possession of all his estates. The said Duke of Lorraine had taken in good part the way in which he was treated at the court of France, though it is most likely that he never was truly aware of it; but when a great lord has lost

all his possessions, he is commonly wearisome to those by whom he is supported. The King had given him a small sum of money, and caused him to be led through the country of Lorraine by a good company of men at arms, who conducted him into Germany, and there left him. This Duke had not only lost his country of Lorraine, but also the county de Vaudemont and the greatest part of Barrois, which the King held at that time, so that nothing remained unto him; and the worst was, that all his subjects, and even the officers of his household, had sworn fealty to the Duke of Burgundy, so that he seemed left without any succour; nevertheless God is still the judge in such cases, and determines such things as it may best please him. After that the Duke of Lorraine was passed, and when he had ridden some days, he reached the allies a few hours before the battle, with but small company; and this journey brought him great honour and much profit, for had it fallen out otherwise he had met but poor reception. At the moment of his arrival the two armies were marching to give battle to each other; for the allies had for three days been lodged in a stronghold quite close to the Duke of Burgundy. The army of the Duke made but a sad defence, and was soon discomfited and put to flight; but this defeat was not like to the former battle, where he had but seven men at arms killed, which arose from the Swiss having then no horsemen; but in this battle before Morat the allies had full four thousand horsemen, well mounted, who chased the troops of the Duke of Burgundy to a great distance, and gained the battle against the footmen of the Duke, of which he had a great host; for, without reckoning his own subjects, and English, who were assembled in great numbers,

he had also a number of Piedmontese, and other subjects of the Duke of Milan; and the Prince of Tarentum told the King of France he had never seen a finer army assembled; and that he had caused it to be counted as it passed over a bridge, and there were twenty-three thousand paid soldiers, besides those who followed the army and those who served the artillery. This might not, however, be true, as there are many who make armies much mightier than they are. The Seigneur de Contay, who arrived at the court of France soon after the battle, confessed to the King, in the presence of Comines, that eight thousand men of the Duke's party were killed in the battle, and Philip de Comines imagines that his force might perhaps amount to eighteen thousand strong. The Duke fled into Burgundy, despairing, as well he might after such a disaster, and retired to a place called La Rivière, where he gathered together such of his people as he could. The Swiss continued the chase only till the evening, when they retired without pursuing him any farther.

CAP. IV.

HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BECOMING DESPERATE, FORCIBLY SEIZED UPON THE PERSON OF THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY; HOW SHE WAS DELIVERED FROM HIS POWER; AND HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HELD HIMSELF AS A RECLUSE FOR SOME WEEKS, WHILE THE DUKE OF LORRAINE RECOVERED HIS TOWN OF NANCY.

The Duke became desperate at this second reverse, which occurred only three weeks after his former defeat at Granson; and alarmed at the defalcation of his friends, he resolved to seize upon the person of the Duchess of Savoy as the best means of preserving her alliance; and he excused this outrage by alleging that it was from assisting this house that all this evil had fallen upon him. She was accordingly seized upon by his emissaries, and brought, with one of her younger sons, the same who was afterwards Duke of Savoy, into Burgundy, where the Duke caused her to be confined in the castle of the Rouvre, near Dijon.

But the servants he employed in this adventure were so alarmed themselves at its nature, that they accomplished it in such fear and haste that the eldest son of the Duchess, the then Duke, was saved by some of the adherents of the house of Savoy, and carried to Chambery. Here the young Duke was placed under the safeguard of the Bishop of Geneva, a relation of his house, but under the influence of his

tutor, the Commander of Rhodes. With these King Louis entered into treaty, and contrived to obtain the possession of the persons of the young Duke, as well as that of his brother, called the Prothonotary, who were given up to him, together with the castles of Chambery and Mont-Meliar; while they kept for him also another castle in which were lodged the jewels of the Duchess, their mother.

When the Duchess of Savoy found herself at Rouvre, surrounded by her servants, and perceived that those by whom she was guarded had no longer the same fear of their master as formerly, and that the Duke had great difficulty in assembling troops, she determined to send to the King, her brother, to entreat that he would deliver her from the power of the Duke. This the King did right willingly, and trusting the enterprise to the Seigneur de Chaumont, this Seigneur accomplished her deliverance without doing any damage to the country of Charles; for the cunning of the King caused him to perceive that he made the best war against the Duke of Burgundy by permitting that hot-headed Prince to pursue his own career unmolested.

But to return to the Duke: after this second defeat, he retired to La Rivière, on the borders of Burgundy, at which place he sojourned more than six weeks, having it still at heart to assemble his people. Nevertheless he took but small pains, and held himself secluded, and appeared to act more from obstinacy than from any other motive. For the reader must understand that the grief and vexation which had been caused him by his loss before Granson had so greatly troubled his spirit, that he fell into a sad sickness; and as his temper

and blood were naturally so choleric and hot that he never drank wine, but in the morning took diet drink and conserve of roses to keep himself from fever, this grief so changed his whole temperament that he was compelled to drink very strong wine, unmixed with water: and to draw the blood from his heart, burnt tow and cupping-glasses were obliged to be used. Monseigneur de Vienne, who was then with him, and to whom all these memoirs of our Chronicle are addressed, contrived to get him through this dreadful malady, and it was through his influence alone, that Charles at length suffered himself to be shaved, having, in his despair, permitted his beard to grow. But after this illness he was never considered to have quite recovered his senses, and never displayed the same judgment as before. Such are the effects of the passions of those who never knew adversity, and who after their misfortunes do not seek for those things which can alone remedy their evils, and especially Princes who are proud: for in such cases the first refuge should be to turn to God, and try to ascertain in what they have offended Him, and humiliate themselves before Him; for such events are at His disposal. The next best thing is to appeal to some confidential friend, boldly and without shame to lay open the heart and its griefs, for this cheers and solaces the heart; and nothing helps the mind to return to its own judgment and the spirit to recover its former tone so much as speaking and taking counsel. Occupation and exercise are likewise salutary remedies for a grieved spirit; for as we are men, our griefs must have vent with passion either in public or in our own privacy, and the Duke should have pursued a contrary course to that of hiding and keeping himself in solitude. But

because the Duke was held in great terror by all who surrounded him, there were none bold enough to give him comfort or counsel, or in any manner to remonstrate with him, fearing that he would take it ill.

During the six weeks, or thereabouts, that he remained in this place, with a very small company (which was not surprising, considering the numbers he had lost in two such great battles*), and that many new enemies declared themselves against him, and that their friends cooled, and his subjects became broken and dispirited, and who began likewise to murmur and to hold their Prince in contempt, as is too much the custom after such great adversity; many small places were taken from him in Lorraine, as Vaudemont, and then Espinal, and others afterwards; and on all sides people roused themselves against him, and the weakest the most boldly. On these tidings, the Duke de Lorraine assembled a small number of troops and followers, and came and set down before Nancy. He had already possession of the greatest number of the small houses in the environs. The Duke, however, all this time remained still at Pont-à-Mousson, four leagues from Nancy, or thereabouts.

Among those who were in Nancy at this time of its siege, was one of the house of Croy, my Lord de Beures, a good and worthy knight, who had with him many skilful men; and among others was an Englishman, named Cohin, a very brave man, but of humble lineage, whom he had brought with others from Guynes to the service of the Duke of Burgundy. Cohin had about three hundred Englishmen under his command; and although they were not pressed by

* The Chronicler here seems to forget, that in the first battle, that before Granson, the Duke lost very few people.—Ed.

batteries or approaches, yet they were angry that the Duke made so little attempt to succour them; and in truth he was very wrong in this, for he was too far from the country of Lorraine to do it any service, and he had much greater reason to defend the possessions he still retained, than to go against the Swiss, to revenge himself against them for the damage they had done him.

But his obstinacy, and his taking none but his own counsel, did him great injury: for however anxiously he was solicited to assist Nancy, he remained, without any necessity, at the said place of La Rivière six weeks or thereabouts; while, if he had acted otherwise, he might have easily succoured the town, for the Duke of Lorraine had nothing that might be called a force before it; and in holding the country of Lorraine, he always commanded his passage to come from his other Seigneuries, passing by Luxemburg and Lorraine, to reach Burgundy: wherefore, had his judgment been such as it had formerly been, he would certainly have acted differently.

While the soldiers in Nancy were waiting in expectation of succour from the Duke, the aforesaid Cohin, chief of the English troops within, was killed by a cannon-ball, which was a great loss to the Duke of Burgundy; for the person of one single man is often the means of preserving his prince from great misfortunes, though he may not have to boast of high house or lineage, but simply through his own sense and virtue.

As soon as Cohin was slain, the English began to murmur, and to despair of receiving assistance; and not knowing how small was the strength of the Duke of Lorraine, and the great means which the Duke of

Burgundy still retained to regather his people; and moreover, from the length of time that the English had had no wars out of their own kingdom, not understanding the nature of sieges, they began to desire to enter into treaty with the besiegers, and threatened the Seigneur de Beures, who was chief of the town, that if he would not negociate for them, they would treat without him. Now, though he was a good knight, he had so little resolution, and used such earnest prayers and remonstrances, that it is thought that if he had acted more boldly and sternly with them, it would have been better for him; unless God had ordered that it should not be otherwise than it was, and which is most likely, for had they held out but three days longer, they would have received succour. But, to be brief, he submitted to the wishes of the English, and surrendered the place to the Duke of Lorraine, [6] on his guaranteeing the security of their persons and wealth.

On the morrow, or at the most two days after, that the place had surrendered, the Duke of Burgundy arrived, and was well accompanied, according to the emergency; for many of his followers had joined him, by the way of Luxemburg, from his other Seigneuries, and the two Dukes thus found themselves in the face of each other; but nothing of importance took place, as the forces of the Duke of Lorraine were not sufficiently strong.

The Duke of Burgundy immediately laid siege to Nancy; and better had it been for him if he had not remained so obstinately at La Rivière; but God influences the wills of princes to adopt extraordinary measures, when it pleases him to overthrow their fortunes.

If the Duke had taken other counsel, and had well furnished the small towns around, he would soon have retaken the place; for the besieged were but ill provided with victuals, and plenty of people to increase the scarcity; and he might, by these means, have refreshed and refitted his army; but he took the business by the contrary end.

CAP. V.

OF THE GREAT TREACHERY OF THE COUNT DE CAMPOBACHE, AND HOW HE HINDERED THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM LISTENING TO A GENTLEMAN WHO WOULD HAVE REVEALED HIS EVIL DEALING.

While the Duke held this siege, which proved so unfortunate for himself and all his subjects, and for many others, whom his quarrel did not touch, several of his own followers began to practice against him, so that he was surrounded by hidden enemies on all sides. Among others, the Count Nicholas de Campobache, of the kingdom of Naples, from whence he had been driven for his adherence to the House of Anjou. The Duke of Burgundy had received him on the death of Duke Nicholas of Calabria, to whom he had been a retainer, as also many of the other followers of the said Duke. This count was very poor both of furniture and heritage; the Duke of Burgundy gave him forty thousand ducats in advance to hold his charge in Italy, which consisted of four hundred lances, that he paid by his hands. From this time he began to plot the death of his master, and so continued to this hour; and seeing his master in adversity, he began to treat with my Lord of Lorraine, as well as with some captains and retainers that the King had in Champagne, near to the army of the said Duke.

To the Duke of Lorraine he promised that the siege should be retarded, and that he would contrive that

there should be a want of the most necessary things for the furthering of the operations, and of the battery; and he had fully the power to do so, for the principal charge lay with him, and he had great authority with the Duke of Burgundy. With the King of France he treated more openly: for he professed to kill his master or to take him prisoner, and demanded the wages of his four hundred lances, twenty thousand crowns current, and a good county, for his recompense. While he was employed in these practices, several gentlemen of the Duke of Lorraine essayed to enter the town; some succeeded in their endeavour, but others were taken, and among them a gentleman of Provence, of the name of Cifron, who had conducted the treaty between this traitor Count and the Duke of Lorraine. The Duke of Burgundy ordered the said Cifron to be hanged immediately; saying that when once a Prince has commenced his siege, and fired his artillery against a place, if any attempted to enter therein, and succour it against him, they are by the laws of warfare worthy of death. However, such is not the usage in the wars of France, although they are more cruel than those of Italy and Spain, where this custom holds. Howbeit, the Duke ordered that this gentleman should die, who seeing there was no remedy for him, and that they were surely going to put him to death, demanded that the Duke would be pleased to hear him, and he would tell him that which much concerned his own person. Those gentlemen to whom he thus addressed himself went to the Duke, and as chance would have it, the Count de Campebache was in his presence when they spoke of these matters, or perhaps knowing that the said Cifron was taken, he had determined to be there,

doubting he would report of him what he knew, for he was well acquainted with all the treachery of the said Count, as much on one side as the other; all had been known to him, and it was that which he now wished to communicate. The Duke replied to those who brought this message that he only did it to save his life, and that he should relate the thing to them. The Count corroborated these words, and there was with the Duke but this Count and some secretaries who wrote, for the Count had all the ordering of this army. The prisoner said he would tell the business to none but the Duke himself. Whereupon the Duke ordered him to be hanged, which was done; and as he went to suffer, Cifron urged several that they would entreat their master for him, and he would tell him that which he would not for his duchy but be informed of. Many who knew him had pity on him, and went to and entreated their master this request, that he would hear him. But this evil-minded Count stood at the door of the wooden chambers where the Duke lodged, and prevented any from entering, refusing the door to these, saying, "My Lord desires that the execution be hastened;" and he sent messages to hurry the Provost, and finally the said Cifron was hanged; [7] which was much to the prejudice of the Duke, and he had far better have been less cruel, for if he had humanely listened to this gentleman, peradventure he had been still alive, and his house unbroken, and its splendour much restored, seeing the things that happened subsequently in France. But God had differently ordered it. Since the disloyal action of the Duke, who had a short time before betrayed the Count de St. Paul, Constable of France,

whom he had taken on his surety, and treacherously given him over to the King Louis to be put to death, and moreover given all the seals and letters which he had of the Constable's to serve for his trial. And though the Duke had good reason to hate the said Constable to his death, and to seek it for him on many causes which would be tedious to relate, yet might he have accomplished it without pledging his word; however, all the reasons that could be advanced in this matter might not excuse the breach of truth and honour which the Duke committed in giving a good and loyal safe-conduct to the Constable, and then seizing him, and selling him through avarice—not solely for the town of St. Quentin and the places and heritages of the said Constable, but also for doubt that he might miss the taking of Nancy, when he had laid siege to it the first time; for it was after much dissimulation he gave up the Constable, fearing that the King's army which was in Champagne might hinder him of his enterprize, as the King threatened him by ambassadors; for by their agreement the first of them that took the Constable was to deliver him to his companion in the course of eight days, or else put him to death. The Duke had let this time pass by many days, and that fear, and the ambition to possess Nancy, led him to betray the Constable. [8] Lo now as at this very place of Nancy he had unjustly committed this crime, after he had laid the second siege, and put to death the said Cifron (whom he refused to listen to, as a man whose ears were stopped and whose judgment was troubled), he was himself, at this same place, deceived and betrayed by him whom he most trusted; and peradventure partly paid his deserts for

the treachery he had committed on the Constable, and by his covetousness of the town of Nancy.

But this is a judgment belonging to God, and it is but mentioned to render this relation more clear, and to show how much a good Prince should avoid consenting to such a treacherous and shameful action, whatever counsel may be given to him; and it often happens that those who so counsel, do it with the intent to please, or from fearing to contradict, though it is against their own judgment, when the deed is accomplished, well knowing the punishment they are liable to, from God, as well as from the world. But such counsellors are always much better at a distance from a Prince than about him.

Thus we see how God gave it into the hands of this Count de Campobache, to take vengeance of the Duke, for the evil which he had committed on the Constable, in the very same place, and in the same manner, and still more cruelly; for notwithstanding the safe-conduct, and the trust in him, which the Constable had, he delivered him up to be put to death. So also, by the one in his army, in whom he put the greatest trust, was he himself betrayed; by him, whom he had received old, and poor, and without support, and whom he had entertained at the expense of a hundred thousand ducats a year, with which he paid his men-at-arms by his hands, and with many other great advantages. And when he began this treachery, he was going into Italy with 40,000 ducats, which he had received as *earnest*, as is said, for his men-at-arms: and for the management of his treasonable practice he addressed him in two quarters; first to a doctor, living at Lyons, named

Master Simon de Pavie, and to another in Savoy; and on his return he lodged his men-at-arms in certain small places of the County de Masle, which is in Lannois, and there he recommenced his practices, offering to deliver up the places that he held; or, if the King gave battle to his master, that there should be a sign between them, upon which he would turn against his prince, joining the King's side with all his band. This second proposal did not please the King: he offered also, that the first time his master should lodge in camp, that he would either seize or kill him, as he visited his troops. And, in truth, he might easily have accomplished this third project, for it was the Duke's custom, that as soon as he alighted from his horse, on arriving at the place where he would lodge, he took off part of his harness, and retaining the body of his cuirass, mounted on a small horse, and followed by only eight or ten archers on foot, and sometimes by two or three gentlemen of his household, he would go all around his host, and see that they were safely lodged; so that the Count might have performed this exploit easily enough with ten horsemen.

After that the King had seen the continued attempts made by this man to betray his master, and that this last proposal occurred at the season of a truce, and not knowing to what end he made these overtures, he determined to show great frankness to the Duke, and sent him intelligence of all the dealings of this treacherous Count by the Lord de Contay (who has been often named in these memoirs); and it is certain, that the Lord de Contay acquitted himself truly and loyally to his master, but the Duke took the matter by the wrong end; saying, had it been true,

the King would not have given him knowledge of it. This was a long time before he came to Nancy; and, it is believed the Duke said nothing of it to the Count, for he never changed his dealing. Thus, to this mutual mistrust, was the Duke of Burgundy sacrificed.

CAP. VI.

HOW THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, NOT FOLLOWING THE GOOD COUNSEL OF SEVERAL OF HIS PEOPLE, WAS DISCOMFITED AND KILLED IN THE BATTLE FOUGHT BETWEEN HIM AND THE DUKE OF LORRAINE NEAR TO NANCY.

To return to the chief matter of these memoirs, and to the siege which the Duke of Burgundy laid to Nancy, and which was in the midst of winter, with few troops, badly armed and paid, and many sick among them; and of whom some of the greatest practised against him, and all in general murmured against him, and treated his words with contempt, as is usual in cases of adversity. None, however, practised against his person or estate, but this said Count de Campobache; for among his own subjects there was no disloyalty.

The Duke of Burgundy being in this poor plight, he of Lorraine began to treat with his ancient, as well as his new allies, to furnish him with means to give battle to the Duke of Burgundy before Nancy. All the cities were very much inclined to assist him, and there wanted nothing but money. The King of France encouraged him, by the ambassadors which he had sent to the Swiss; and furnished him also with forty thousand francs, to help him to pay the German troops. He also lodged the Seigneur de Craon, his lieutenant, in Champagne, in Barrois, with seven or eight hundred lancers and archers, well accompanied

by good chieftains. So much did the Duke of Lorraine profit by the favour and the money of the King, that he got together a great number of Germans, both horse and foot. He had also with him a great many gentlemen of France; and the army of the King, before spoken of, was likewise lodged in Barrois, but this army did nothing in the war, but merely remained to see which party would gain the best of it. The Duke of Lorraine now took up his lodgement at St. Nicholas, close to Nancy, from which place he soon marched, with the determination to give battle to the Duke of Burgundy.

On the same day that the Duke of Lorraine, and the Germans in his company, dislodged from St. Nicholas, to fight with the Duke of Burgundy, the Count de Campobache went to meet them, to complete the treachery he had so long planned, and so passed to their side with about eight score men-at-arms; and it much displeased him, that he could do no worse to his master. Those within the town of Nancy were well acquainted with the conduct of the Count, who had done his best to give them the more heart to hold out the place. In addition to this, a man had thrown himself into the trenches, and assured them of speedy succour, otherwise they were upon the point of yielding; and had it not been for the treating of the Count, they had not held out till then: but God so willed it, to the ending of this mystery.

The Duke of Burgundy being advertised of this event, held some small council, which was quite out of his ordinary custom of following only his own judgment. It was the opinion of many, that he had best retire upon the Pont-à-Mousson, and leave the people and places that he held near Nancy; judging that the

Germans would retreat as soon as they had victualled the town, and that money would fail the Duke of Lorraine, who would not, for a length of time, be able to gather so many people; and the supplies they could give, could not be so plentiful, but that before half the winter should be passed they would again be as straitened as they then were. During this season too the Duke might gather more forces; for it has been said by those who are believed to know it well, that there were not, in all his host, above 4000 men, of which not more than 1200 were fit for battle. Of money, the Duke had sufficient; for, in the castle of Luxembourg, near at hand, there was full four hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and he could easily have reassembled his army. But God did not favour him so much, as that he should follow this good advice; neither did he enable him to perceive that, with so many enemies all around, he chose the worst part; and trusting to the words of ill-judging persons, determined to risk his fortune, notwithstanding the remonstrances which were made to him of the great force of the Germans who were with the Duke of Lorraine, and also of the king's army which lay so near; and thus he concluded to give battle with this small number of disheartened troops.

Upon the approach of the Count de Campobache to the Duke of Lorraine, the Germans desired him to retire, saying they would have no traitors amongst them; and so he drew back to Condé, a castle on the Moselle, close by, in which he entrenched himself with waggons and what he could, hoping that, on the flight of the Duke of Burgundy and his people, many would fall into his hands, as indeed it befell. The Count de Campobache had not his chief plot with the

Duke of Lorraine, but shortly before his going over, he had concluded with others, that he would join the other side at the hour of battle, as judging he might not be able to lay hands on the Duke of Burgundy, and he thought his joining in this manner the best, as most likely to cause a panic in the Duke's host: but he affirmed, that if the Duke fled, he should not escape alive, for he would leave thirteen or fourteen sure persons, a part of them to begin the flight as soon as he saw the Germans march, and the others to have an eye on the Duke, and if he turned, to kill him in his retreat. And Commines knew two or three of those who remained to slay the Duke. After he had arranged on these great treasons, he retired among the host, and turned against his master, as he saw the Germans approach; but when he found they would not receive him in their company, he turned off upon Condé, as has been related.

The said Germans came on, and with them vast numbers of horsemen, who were permitted to join them; many others placed themselves in ambush, to see if the Duke were discomfited, and to take prisoners, and other booty. And thus may be seen in what a situation this poor Duke of Burgundy had placed himself, through want of following good counsel. After that the two armies had met, his, which had been already twice beaten, and was of small number, and ill appointed, was at once routed, and all killed or put to flight. Great numbers fled, the rest, who made offer to stand, were all slain or taken, and among others, the Duke of Burgundy was slain on the field. Commines does not relate the exact manner of his death, as he was not present, but he had been told by those who saw the Duke borne to

the ground, and could not succour him, as they were prisoners, that, to their view, he was not slain but by a crowd, who were in a large band, and who altogether overcame him, and plundered his spoils, without knowing who he was. But some said, that he had been seen to fly, and had made his escape,—he struck his horse into a gallop, between the town and the mountains, with the intention of reaching the road to Mars, but was stopped by a brook, where his horse foundered in the mire, and he was slain with three wounds, one in his seat, another in the thigh, and the third in the head. 'Tis said he was struck from his horse by Claude de Blazemont, or de Blomon, governor of St. Die; who, learning that he was the Duke of Burgundy, died of grief for having so slain him. This battle was fought on the fifth day of January of the year 1576, the eve of the Epiphany. [9]

CAP. VII.

A DIGRESSION ON SOME GOOD QUALITIES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND ON THE TIME DURING WHICH HIS HOUSE ENJOYED PROSPERITY.

I HAVE since, says Commines, who had been his early friend, though afterwards attached to his great enemy, seen at Milan the tassel that I used so often to see hanging to his doublet; it was formed of a ring, on which a gun was engraved on a cameo, and was sold at Milan for two ducats. He who rifled it from him was but an evil valet de chambre. I have often seen him dressed and undressed with the greatest reverence by persons of quality, but at this last hour all his honours had passed away, and he, and his house, perished at the place where he had consented to deliver up the Constable through avarice, and a very short time after this action. May God forgive him his sins! I had seen him a great and honourable Prince, and he was at one time esteemed and regarded of his neighbours as much as any Prince in Christendom, perhaps more so. I know of no other occasion why he should have incurred the wrath of God before this, but that he considered all the honours and good fortunes that befel him to proceed from his own great judgment and qualities, not attributing them to the favour of God, as he should have done. And in verity he had great and virtuous qualities. No prince ever surpassed him in the desire of entertaining men of consideration, and keeping them

well provided. His gifts were not very large, because he desired that all should receive of them. None ever gave audience more freely to his subjects and followers. During the time I knew him he was not cruel, but became so shortly before his death, which was a bad omen for him. He was pompous and stately in his dress and in all things else, and perhaps somewhat too much so. He treated ambassadors and strangers with great regard, feasting and receiving them mightily. He was most desirous of glory, which moved him more than aught to undertake his wars; as he greatly desired to resemble those ancient princes who have been so much spoken of after their death; and as a man he was as brave as any who reigned in his time. Now all these imaginations have come to an end, and all turned to his prejudice and shame, for the successful only have the honour. I cannot determine against which the Lord appeared most wrath, against him who thus died in this field without languishment, or against his subjects, who from thence had neither peace nor rest, but war continually, which they were unequal to support, together with troubles between themselves. And that which was hardest for them to bear, was that their defenders were strangers, who had been their enemies, the Germans. In fact after the Duke's death they never had any man who wished them well, turn to whom they would for succour and assistance. And to judge by their deeds, they had their judgments disturbed as much as was the Duke's just before his death; for they rejected all good counsel, and sought out all methods that might injure them, and they are in a way in which these disasters, or at least the fear of again falling into the like, will not fail them for a long season.

I lean much to the opinion of some whom I have met, that God gives the Prince according as he wills to punish or chastise the people, and he gives the people and their disposition and resolution for their Prince, as he wills to exalt or abase him; and so it befel to this House of Burgundy; for after their long felicity and great riches, and three great princes, wise and good preceding this one, they having endured six score years and more with judgment and virtue, God gave them this Duke Charles, who held them continually in war, toil, and expense, as well in winter as in summer. So that many persons of good substance, and easy circumstances, were killed and destroyed by imprisonment in these wars. The great losses began before Nuz, and they continued by the three battles till his death, and in such manner that at this last battle the whole strength of his country was consumed, and all the people were undone, killed, or taken, who would have defended the state and honour of his house. And, as I have said, it appears that these losses lasted for about the same space of time that had endured their felicities; for as I saw him rich, powerful, and honoured, so I may affirm to have seen his subjects equally fortunate. For though I have traversed the greater part of Europe, I have not met with any seigneurie or country of its equal size, nor even of much greater extent, that so abounded in riches, edifices, and furniture, or where there was so much prodigality of feasting, and noble entertainments, as there, during the time of my stay. And should it seem to any that I did not pass so great a time there as I report, or that I say too much of its greatness, others who have been there as well as myself will peradventure deem that I say too little

thereof. But it was the Lord's pleasure thus all at once to overthrow this great and sumptuous edifice, this powerful house, that sustained and nourished so many honourable families, and was so regarded far and near for so many victories and such glories, as none around achieved the like, during its season of prosperity. And this flourishing condition, the gift of God, lasted them for the space of six score years, that all their neighbours endured greatly, as France, England, and Spain, and all at one time or the other came there for assistance and support. As was seen in the example of the King our master*, who in his youth, during the life of Charles the VIIth., his father, retired to Burgundy for six years in the time of the good Duke Philip, who so courteously received him. From England, I saw the two brothers of King Edward, namely, the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Gloucester, who since has had himself called King Richard; and of the other party, King Henry's, who was of the house of Lancaster, I have seen the whole lineage, or nearly. From all sides I have seen this house thus highly honoured, and then all at once fall completely, and be the most desolate and undone, both in prince or people, of any of the neighbouring states: and such are the works of the Lord, which he has done on mighty nations long before we were born, and will so execute his judgments after our death. For we must hold for certain, that the great prosperity of princes and their great adversities all proceed from the Divine ordinance.

* Louis XI., afterwards the Duke's great rival and enemy.

NOTES

TO THE

LAST DAYS OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

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[1] "*And the said Duke desired to rest his army, which was sore travailed, as much on account of Nuz, as of the short war they had had in Lorraine,*" p. 313.

The siege of Nuz, a small town near Cologne, was the first enterprize in which Charles of Burgundy failed. It was undertaken on the following account.

Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, had succeeded to the Archbishopric of Cologne in 1462. Ten years afterwards, he quarrelled with his Chapter, who, in consequence, insisted upon electing an Administrator, which they did in the following year, in the person of Herman, brother to the Landgrave of Hesse. This occasioned an appeal to arms; in which the Duke of Burgundy sided with the Archbishop, hoping to be able to retain some places to his own share for his services during the war. He accordingly laid siege to Nuz, in the year 1474. The place was strong and the Landgrave of Hesse commanded in it, at the head of a large garrison. The Duke of Burgundy was at the head of the finest army he ever commanded, including a body of Italian, and one of English, auxiliaries. He doubted not to be very speedily

master of the town; but he found the resistance brave and vigorous. The people of Cologne, also, and of the towns higher up the Rhine, who had a great dread of the Duke coming to make war in their country, assembled a very considerable army, and exerted themselves to cut off his supplies. The Emperor, also, assembled an exceedingly large army, and approached to the relief of the place.

And here that bull-headed obstinacy, by which the character of Charles of Burgundy was so strongly marked, was eminently conspicuous; for he had every political cause to raise the siege, and the many and eminent mediators who strove to bring about peace, afforded him ample opportunity to save the point of honour. The Duke had all his life been endeavouring to get the English to join him in an attack upon France; and now that he had with him a considerable force of that nation, who were urging him not to let the season pass over, but to proceed to their ultimate purpose, he was rooted before this fortress on the Rhine, wasting his time and his troops in ineffectual endeavours to reduce it. There was also another body of English ready to join the Duke of Brittany.

The siege lasted nearly a year (from the 30th July, 1474, to the 27th June, 1475), during which time the Duke of Lorraine took the opportunity to make war against him in the Luxembourg, and the King of France in Picardy; in which they committed very considerable devastations. At last, at the repeated remonstrances of the English, aided by the considerations I have just mentioned, the Duke consented to raise the siege, the town being placed in the hands of the Pope's Legate, to be

disposed of according to the directions of the Apostolic See. It appeared, afterwards, that the place, from famine, could not have held out above a fortnight more.

[2] *And Archambaut, who was Governor of the country for the Duke, was put to death at Basle;* p. 315.

In many of the contemporary Chroniclers, and in almost all modern works upon the subject, this name is written Hagembach. The almost incredible cruelties of which this man was guilty, and the unexampled tyranny with which he exercised the power conferred upon him by Charles, by engendering that hatred with which the Duke's government was regarded by the county of Ferrett as well as by all the neighbouring states, tended at last to the overthrow of that power which had been great enough to hold France in check.

To his valour and cruelty (two qualities in those days which too frequently accompanied each other) this Sieur de Archambaut or Hagembach added a blind obedience to the will of his master, and a heart dead to every feeling of humanity. Tristan l'Hermite himself was not more devoted to Louis XI., and to the accomplishment of those commands dictated either by the caprice or the cruelty of his master, than this Knight was to Charles the Bold. Whenever complaints of his tyranny reached the ears of the Duke, the apology was, that they were inflicted as punishments for disobedience of the Duke's orders, or for violations of the Duke's privileges; and so great was the infatuation of Charles in this bad man's favour, that he not only turned a deaf ear to the cries of a whole people, but when his victims, driven to desperation by his

tyranny and cruelty, at length punished him, his determination to avenge the death of his favourite was so strong, that he pursued it even to the utter ruin of his own power.

On the resumption of the county of Ferrett by Duke Sigismond of Austria, by whom it had been pledged to Charles the Bold for a hundred thousand florins, Archambaut was taken prisoner, together with eight hundred horsemen. All his followers, however, were set at liberty; but so great was the public cry for his punishment, that he himself was carried to Basle, where a process was instituted against him for the cruelties exercised during his government of Ferrett, by which he was found guilty, and, after being divested of his orders, his head was struck off.

To avenge his death Charles attacked the Swiss, by whom he was defeated, and thus the cruelties of his servant were made subservient to his own punishment.

[3] *The place surrendered, and all the garrison, at discretion. He put them all to death;* p. 316.

This horrible method of making war the Duke probably learned in the engagements in which he first served, namely, against the insurgent Gantois, as we have seen in the prefixed notice. But in that there was at least the excuse of law, if not of justice, namely, that the persons put to death were rebels taken in arms. But the Swiss were an independent nation, against whom the Duke of Burgundy made war as such, and whose garrisons were manifestly entitled to its laws. The moral difference was small; but, as it regarded outward pre-

tence, it was considerable. It is true that others, as well as the Duke of Burgundy, namely, Louis XI. and Maximilian of Austria, had adopted this bloody custom; but they always declared that they did so in mutual retaliation, which shows that it was not recognised as a law of war; and, certainly, the Swiss had done nothing to deprive them of its advantages. But Charles the Bold affected to despise these simple peasants, who were about to give him so awful a lesson; and he seemed to desire to strike terror into them at the outset. At few periods was human life more lightly cared for than at this time. Louis XI., the falsest, but certainly one of the most able of the princes recorded in history, was, though not directly sanguinary for its own sake, perfectly unscrupulous as to the lives he sacrificed, if they stood in his way; while Charles the Bold was, with all his Burgundian magnificence, as ferocious a barbarian as ever revelled in slaughter and bloodshed: and *he* had no eminent powers of mind as redeeming points for the vices of his character.

[4] *That their country was very sterile and poor, and that they had no good prisoners;* p. 318.

The ransom of prisoners was one of the chief objects in the warfare of the middle ages. It was to the soldier what prize-money is now; only that it was to be acquired in every species of engagement, even in the absence of all descriptions of booty. To the men-at-arms, who were robbers one day and soldiers the next, the practice was familiar and important in both capacities. Nay, it would seem, from the passage in the text, to have been so highly

considered, that the lack of it was urged to a great prince as a good reason for abstaining from war.

In a military point of view, this custom had great evils, for it tended to individualize instead of to congregate the members of the army—to make every man fight for his own spoil, instead of for the general result; and to cease fighting if he happened to take a rich prisoner, lest he should lose him again. But it certainly occasioned less bloodshed—I cannot say more humanity—for the motive was avarice, not compassion. It was, however, in effect a counterpoise, to a certain degree, against the savage bloodthirstiness so prevalent at the period. Wars would all have been "to the knife," if there had not been this restraint to stay the hand of the slayer.—*See* vol. ii., p. 307.

[5] *The Duke's large diamond, which was one of the largest in Christendom;* p. 322.

There is a curious history attached to this diamond, which, after passing through several hands, became the first jewel in the crown of France; and report says that it has been subsequently numbered among the crown jewels of our own country. After the changes to which it had been subject, as seen in the text, it is said to have been sold to a French gentleman of the name of Laney. The family of this gentleman preserved the diamond for nearly a century, and till the period when Henry III. of France, after having lost his throne, employed a descendant of this family, who was commander of the Swiss troop in his service, to proceed to Switzerland for

the purpose of recruiting his forces from that country; and having no immediate pecuniary resources at command, he persuaded the same gentleman to borrow the Laney diamond, in order to deposit with the Swiss government, as security for the payment of the troops. The diamond was despatched, for this purpose, by a confidential domestic, who disappeared and could nowhere be heard of for a great length of time. At last, however, it was ascertained that he had been stopped by robbers, and assassinated, and his body buried in a forest; and such confidence had his master in his prudence and probity, that he searched, and afterwards discovered the place of his burial, and had the corpse disinterred and opened, when the diamond was discovered in his stomach, he having swallowed it when attacked by the robbers. How little did the Swiss soldiery think, that scarcely a century would elapse before this stone, which they then threw away with such contempt, would be considered a sufficient security by foreign potentates for the payment of their blood and services!

[6] *Surrendered the place to the Duke of Lorraine;* p. 333.

Nancy was at last surrendered, through want of provisions: before the surrender, the Seigneur de Beures sent to the Duke René a pie, which was made from a horse which he had killed, to show how well he had done his duty to his master the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Lorraine immediately sent him venison and sauce, and some of the best wines from his own stores.

[7] *And finally the said Cifron was hanged;* p. 337.

This Cifron Rachière was maître d'hôtel to the Duke of Lorraine. He was hanged upon a tree near to the chapel of St. Thibaud. His body was afterwards delivered up to the Lorrainese, by whom it was interred in the church of St. George. The next day, the Lorrainese hanged a Burgundian, who happened to be in Nancy at the time; and shortly afterwards, all the Burgundians who were found in Epinal, Mericourt, and other places, to the number of one hundred and twenty; and this they did to teach the Duke another time to moderate his anger.

[8] *Led him to betray the Constable;* p. 338.

Nobody, who is acquainted with the deep and double treachery of the Count St. Paul, or St. Pol, can feel much pity for his fate, when he became the victim of the same species of treachery which had characterized his own conduct. For a series of years he had treated both with the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, and by turns continually betrayed them both, till it became a wonder, not only how they ever trusted him, but how his existence and power were even tolerated. Twice, meetings had been held between the two powers, to punish his repeated treasons to them both. From the first of these he escaped, but was so hard pressed in the latter, that he threw himself on the mercy of the Duke of Burgundy, relying upon the ancient friendship which had subsisted between them, and on his having been the protector and friend of his youth; and it was said, that if the Duke of Burgundy

had ever loved any body, it was the Constable St. Pol. The treaty between the King and the Duke was, that whoever should first obtain possession of the Constable, should, within eight days, either put him to death or deliver him up to the other. The King demanded the execution of this treaty, but the Duke was not over-hasty to complete it, or at least he determined to profit as greatly as possible from the ardent desire of the King for the destruction of the Constable; and having, contrary to his treaty, invaded and conquered Lorraine, he was fearful that the King might assist Duke René in the recovery of his estates, and which, indeed, Louis had already threatened. The Duke, therefore, refused to deliver up the Constable without an assurance, that the King would not interfere with his conquest of Lorraine. As each of these princes were well assured that his rival had no other intention than that of deceiving him, the treaty lasted some time: the Duke fearing, that if he were once in possession of the Constable, the King would no longer keep to his promise; and the King suspecting, that, once the master of Lorraine, the Duke would no longer be willing to sacrifice the Constable. St. Pol, finding his danger, sent an ambassador to the King, and wrote a supplicating letter to the Duke, whose brutal reply was, "Tell him, that in writing this letter he has only lost his paper and his hopes." The Duke was, by this time, in possession of the whole of Lorraine, excepting Saarbourg and Nancy; and dreading that the King might prevent the accomplishment of his purpose, it was agreed at last, that the Constable should be exchanged against letters of the King, which should authorize the

Duke's possession of Nancy and Lorraine. These letters were delivered the 20th of January, 1475, and the Constable was delivered up. Three hours afterwards, messengers arrived from the Duke, ordering that the delivery of the Constable should be postponed till further orders; but it was too late.

[9] *This battle was fought the fifth day of January, of the year* 1576, *the eve of the Epiphany;* p. 346.

The Duke was afterwards interred in the church of St. George, in the old town of Nancy, in a chapel on the left of the choir, under the organ, where his epitaph may be seen. It was on a Sunday that Charles, first hearing of the reduction of Nancy by the Duke of Lorraine, swore that he would re-enter the city before the Fête of the Epiphany; in which he was indeed a true prophet, for he kept his word, although in a very different manner from what he had anticipated.

THE END.

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